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IN THIS ISSUE



If there is one constant in history, it is change. But change is not necessarily always universal or consistent. Some beliefs and activities for human beings of the twenty-first century have changed little or not at all from those of our ancestors throughout past ages. It is a paradox of history that human experience changes and yet it does not. The articles in this issue for Spring 2008 deal with important changes in the attitudes, experiences, and sacred places of twentieth-century Utahns.

Our first article examines the prohibition of interracial marriage in Utah from the passage of legislation in 1888 banning miscegenation until its repeal by the Utah State Legislature seventy-five years later in 1963. While the anti-miscegenation law was on the books, African Americans and Asians were forbidden to marry whites. However, unlike other states, the Utah law said nothing about marriages between whites and Native Americans. Society has come to accept the inevitability and legality of interracial marriages. However, as the prohibition of interracial marriages has become history a new debate has arisen as to what relationships between individuals, in the eyes of the law, constitute marriage and family.

Lucien L. Nunn brought great change to Utah and its neighbors—Colorado and Idaho. Nunn was a pioneer in the last decade of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century in the development of methods for generating electricity and distributing it to urban and rural residents, businesses, and enterprises. It is hard to imagine a world

ON THE COVER: Memory Grove. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ABOVE: These photographs taken from the same vantage point show Memory Grove in 1998 before the August 11, 1999, tornado devastated the park, as depicted in second photo taken one week after the tornado struck. PHOTOS COURTESY OF WILLIAM S. LOVE.



without electricity. It is also difficult to grasp the impact that electricity has had on nearly every facet of our modern life. The production, distribution, and use of electricity have carried us out of the dark ages and expanded human activity in ways that our forefathers would have found simply miraculous. Nunn's story, recounted in our second article, illustrates the challenges that he faced in providing cheap and dependable electricity throughout the Intermountain West.

One of the constants in the human experience is remembering and honoring the sacrifices and accomplishments of others. Salt Lake City's Memory Grove established in 1924 in City Creek Canyon just east of the Utah State Capitol is a place for remembering and honoring. The 665 Utah servicemen who lost their lives in World War I and the 3,660 who died during World War II are remembered, as are those heroes of subsequent conflicts, in this sacred place where the steep slopes of the canyon seem to offer peace, serenity, and security. The text and illustrations for our third article show that change also affects a sacred place established as "a lasting memorial to the hero dead of Utah."

Eliud "Pete" Suazo was a man who both demonstrated change and sought change. As Utah's first Hispanic state senator, he represented a significant though politically marginalized portion of the state's population. Tragically, his life ended at the age of fifty while he was serving in the Utah state senate at a time when his long-time efforts to secure passage of hate-crime legislation offered the hope of success. Our final article recounts his youth growing up on Salt Lake City's Westside, his emergence as a political leader, and his efforts in behalf of the state's poor, youth, disadvantaged, and minorities.

The Prohibition of Interracial Marriage in Utah, 1888–1963

BY PATRICK Q. MASON

On a September day in 1898, Dora Harris and her fiancé Quong Wah, a Chinese immigrant and proprietor of a downtown laundry service, entered the county offices in Salt Lake City, seeking a marriage license. The deputy county clerk rejected their request, citing the law passed ten years earlier by the territorial legislature which forbade a white person from marrying anyone of black or Asian descent. The fair-skinned Harris disputed the clerk's decision, asserting that her mother was a "French Creole" and her father was "half Irish and half negro"; if true, this would make her non-white according to virtually any late-nineteenth-century racial definition and, therefore, not subject to the marriage prohibition between whites and Asians. Unconvinced, the clerk concluded that "the Caucasian blood predominated" in Harris, and he refused to issue the license. The couple left empty-handed, promising to pursue the matter in court or to go to Wyoming, "where the law on off-color marriages is less strict than it is in Utah."¹

This case provides fascinating insights to the social construction of both gender and race in turn-of-the-century Utah. The newspapers record that Harris sought a marriage with Wah because she was sickly and wanted a man to "look after" her, a proposition significantly better than "being thrown upon the world" as an ailing woman. He would bring her into his home and be her provider. Wah simply said "he loved the girl," and wanted her for his wife. According to historian Peggy Pascoe, this phenomenon of people crossing race boundaries to fulfill their ideals of gender relations was not uncommon, particularly in the West.² In addition, the intriguing nego-

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¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 16, 1898; *Salt Lake Herald*, September 16, 1898. Details of the incident were also published in other Utah newspapers, such as the *Tooele Transcript Bulletin*, September 23, 1898. No suit filed by Quong Wah or Dora Harris is listed in the Salt Lake City Justice's Court Civil Case Docket Books from September 1898 to December 1899, nor do they appear in the Third District Court Civil Case Index for 1896–1921 (both documents in Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah). The 1900 census does not have a listing for Harris or Wah in either Utah or Wyoming. In addition, no reference to either person exists in the marriage indexes for either Uinta or Sweetwater County, Wyoming, the two counties closest to Utah, and which, incidentally, possessed large Chinese populations (e-mail correspondence with Carl Hallberg, Reference Archivist, Wyoming State Archives, June 2, 2006). For more information on the Chinese community in Utah, see Michael Lansing, "Race, Space, and Chinese Life in Late-Nineteenth-Century Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72 (Summer 2004): 219–38; and Daniel Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns: The Development and Decline of Extinct Ethnic Enclaves," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1996): 70–95.

² See Peggy Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations: The Case of Interracial Marriage," in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West*, ed. Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 72.

tiation between Harris and the clerk reveals how racial identities are neither fixed nor biological, but rather exist as tentative, flexible, and provisional realities. The clerk judged the pale shade of Harris's skin to override her claim to mixed racial ancestry, and thus declared her white in the eyes of the state. Harris, who could apparently pass for white and probably was used to doing so, sought to trade the privileges of passing for an opportunity to marry her intended provider. For Wah, marriage to Harris would have fulfilled his emotional needs and represented an opportunity for advancement in social status.

Beyond providing an example of the processes of gender and race construction, Harris and Wah's predicament illuminates the plight of interracial couples who desired to marry in Utah from 1888, when the then-territory's first law banning miscegenation was passed, until 1963, when the statute was repealed.³ When the 1888 Utah territorial legislature first approved a prohibition on marriage between a "negro" or "Mongolian" and a "white person," it was not doing anything particularly novel.⁴ The history of anti-miscegenation legislation in North America traces back to a 1661 Maryland law, and at some point most of the fifty states had some form of such legislation prohibiting or limiting interracial marriage.⁵ In fact, on first glance the only thing notable about the 1888 law in Utah was that it came relatively late in the game, lagging some two to three decades behind those of most other western jurisdictions.⁶ Upon closer inspection, however, the history of Utah's anti-miscegenation statute emerges as an enlightening chapter in the politics of race and gender in nineteenth- and twentieth-

³ Miscegenation refers to the mixture of races, and can connote marriage, cohabitation, or sexual relations. This essay will primarily employ its meaning as interracial marriage. While recognizing that "interracial" also includes relationships between members of different non-white groups as well as between whites and non-whites, for the sake of simplicity "interracial marriage" will be used here as shorthand for unions between whites and non-whites, which relationships were of most concern to those drafting anti-miscegenation statutes.

⁴ Chapter XLV, "Marriage. An Act Regulating Marriage," Sec. 2, *Laws of the Territory of Utah, Passed at the Twenty-Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1888), 88. Also in Chapter V, "An Act Regulating Marriage," Sec. 2584, *The Compiled Laws of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Herbert Pembroke, 1888), 2:92.

⁵ On the history of interracial sex and/or marriage and anti-miscegenation legislation in the United States, see Alex Lubin, *Romance and Rights: The Politics of Interracial Intimacy, 1945-1954* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2005); Randall Kennedy, *Interracial Intimacies: Sex, Marriage, Identity, and Adoption* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003); Kevin R. Johnson and Kristina L. Burrows, "Struck by Lightning? Interracial Intimacy and Racial Justice," *Human Rights Quarterly* 25 (May 2003): 528-62; Rachel F. Moran, *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Martha Elizabeth Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations"; Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995); David H. Fowler, *Northern Attitudes towards Interracial Marriage: Legislation and Public Opinion in the Middle Atlantic States of the Old Northwest, 1780-1930* (New York: Garland, 1987).

⁶ The earliest anti-miscegenation legislation in the West was passed in California in 1850. Washington followed suit in 1854-55; New Mexico in 1857; Nevada in 1861; Oregon in 1862; Colorado in 1864; Arizona in 1865; Idaho in 1867; and Wyoming in 1869. Among states and territories in the Intermountain and Pacific West, only Montana's statute, passed in 1909, came later than Utah's. See Franklin Johnson, *The Development of State Legislation Concerning the Free Negro* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1918; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), Part II, 57-207.

century America. In addition, the original bill emerged as part of a larger story of the conflicted interaction of religion and politics in an era when Mormon polygamy became the special target of moral crusading on the territorial and national level. In short, a more detailed analysis of Utah's legislation will help us better understand the complex intersections of race, gender, religion, politics, and law in Utah. It will also suggest broader patterns that can be applied in our studies of the West and the nation, including a greater appreciation for how race relations in general and debates over interracial marriage in particular went beyond the standard black-white dichotomy to include such groups as Chinese immigrants and Native Americans.

Territorial law had long prohibited sex between black and white Utahns. In 1852, "An Act in Relation to Service" was passed outlawing "sexual intercourse" between "any white person" and "any of the African race."⁷ However, marriage between the races remained technically legal until 1888. Historian Nancy Cott argues that in the last third of the nineteenth century, the nation became increasingly involved in defining the state's role and interest in marriage, even to the point of "obsession."⁸ A succession of decisions in the U.S. Supreme Court declared the regulation of marriage to be perfectly within the sphere of governmental authority, and upheld laws which shaped a specific model of monogamous, intra-racial wedlock. In the polygamy test case of *Reynolds v. U.S.* (1879), the Court declared that laws regulating marriage were "within the legitimate scope of the power of every civil government." In *Maynard v. Hill* (1888), Justice Stephen Field reaffirmed the legislative and judicial right to enact and enforce laws restricting miscegenation by stating that "marriage, . . . having more to do

⁷ *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions, of the Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Utah* (Great Salt Lake City, UT: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 80-81. This was the first statute limiting interracial sex in Utah, as the Ordinances of the High Council (1847) and State of Deseret Constitution (1849) did not mention race in their ordinances regulating sexual behavior. The act, which more broadly legalized slavery in the territory, seems to have been a direct result of addresses to the legislature by Brigham Young on January 23 and February 5, 1852. The bill was first read in the Territorial Council on January 27, passed a first reading on February 2, and was approved in joint session with the House of Representatives on February 23. See *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions of the First Annual and Special Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Great Salt Lake City, UT: Brigham H. Young, 1852), 90, 122; "An Act in Relation to Service," in Territorial Legislative Records, 1851-1894, Utah State Archives, Series 3150, Box 1, Folder 55; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 749-50; *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898: Typescript*, ed. by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-1985), 4:97-99.

Some evidence suggests that the 1846 marriage to a white woman in Massachusetts by African American Mormon Enoch Lovejoy Lewis, whose father, Walker Lewis, was one of the few blacks ordained to the LDS priesthood in the early 1840s, helped propel Brigham Young toward instituting the priesthood ban on all blacks. See Connell O'Donovan, "The Mormon Priesthood Ban and Elder Q. Walker Lewis: 'An Example for His More Whiter Brethren to Follow,'" *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 26 (2006): 48-100.

⁸ Nancy F. Cott, "Giving Character to Our Whole Civil Polity: Marriage and the Public Order in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays*, ed. Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 114.

with the morals and civilization of a people than any other institution, has always been subject to the control of the legislature.” Finally, in the 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, most famous for establishing the “separate but equal” doctrine that legitimized Jim Crow laws, the Court affirmed that prohibitions against interracial marriage were “universally recognized as within the police power of the State.”⁹ Polygamy and interracial marriage were thus dually outlawed and prosecuted in an attempt to maintain the moral and racial purity of Anglo-Protestant America.

By the 1880s the “Mormon Question,” centering on the twin evils of plural marriage and theocratic politics, had become a subject of intense debate in parlors, newspapers, sermons, and public rallies across the country. The furor resonated in the halls of Congress, and laws passed in 1882 and 1887, following up mostly ineffectual legislation from the previous two decades, finally sought to stamp out Mormon polygamy and theocracy, and even wipe out the very institutions of a recalcitrant Mormonism if need be.¹⁰ By turning its eye westward to Utah, the federal government—and northern public opinion more generally—was at least tacitly acknowledging that its primary interest no longer lay in chastising a defeated South. Although it was a complicated process, one of the underlying realities that expedited the reunion of white North and white South was a pervasive antipathy toward non-whites, particularly blacks and Asians. The “unfinished revolution” of a largely failed Reconstruction, with its attendant abandonment of the pressing needs of the freed people, was only the first and most obvious casualty of this racism. Late nineteenth-century racial antipathies also manifested themselves in particularly virulent forms of xenophobic nativism, Anglo-Saxon triumphalism, and American imperialism. Popular attitudes translated into law in a series of federal acts excluding Chinese immigrants in the 1880s and in the development of Jim Crow laws throughout the South and much of the Midwest and urban North.¹¹

Another important factor in the historical context for Utah’s 1888 anti-miscegenation statute was demographics. Randall Kennedy demonstrates that “Every state whose black population reached or exceeded 5 percent of the total eventually drafted and enacted antimiscegenation laws,” as a signif-

⁹ *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145 (1879); *Maynard v. Hill*, 125 U.S. 90 (1888); *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

¹⁰ See Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

¹¹ See Erika Lee, *At America’s Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001); Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, 1863-1877: America’s Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988 [1955]); C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

icant presence of non-whites almost universally exacerbated white fears of race-mixing.¹² But Utah did not come close to reaching the 5 percent mark, with the entire non-white population of Utah comprising only 2.3 percent of the total in 1890; blacks represented a minuscule 0.3 percent of the territory's populace, with Chinese only slightly higher at 0.4 percent.¹³ Given such a tiny non-white population, why did Utah even bother with a law specifically prohibiting interracial marriage, and why did the law take the form it did?

To answer these questions, we must assess Utah's racial climate and the specific political environment in which the 1888 bill was drafted and then passed. Racial beliefs among Americans in the late nineteenth century were complex and often contradictory, but they generally included a certainty about the superiority of whites (specifically, Anglo-Saxons, Caucasians, or northern Europeans) over all non-white groups, particularly those of African or Asian descent. There was also a widespread and often intense antipathy toward genuine social equality with the "lesser" races, most virulently expressed as fears of interracial marriage and sex.¹⁴

Utah's newspapers reflected this public aversion to race-mixing with their reporting, usually in negative tones, of numerous instances of miscegenation in the years leading up to the 1888 bill. Because Utah's own population of racial minorities was so small, the papers were forced to relate cases of miscegenation from distant settings. These stories, from places as far away as Louisiana, New York, and even Portugal, gave readers a sense that the issue of miscegenation was present and pressing. Imported from

¹² Kennedy, *Interracial Intimacies*, 219.

¹³ Out of 210,779 total people in Utah in 1890, there were 588 blacks, 806 Chinese, 608 "civilized Indians," 3,456 total Indians (including those on reservations), and only four Japanese. Statistics compiled from *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 511, 523, 527, 537; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 2:57; and Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990*, Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, Working Paper Series No. 56 (September 2002), Table 59, available online at www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056.html (accessed June 26, 2006).

Readers today will wonder about the presence of Hispanics in 1888 Utah, but throughout the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth, Hispanics were considered white for census purposes, making it difficult to assess their total numbers. In any case, significant Mexican American immigration to Utah did not begin until the twentieth century. For a brief history of Hispanics' (especially Mexican Americans') contested racial identity, see Neil Foley, "'Partly Colored' or 'Other White': Mexican Americans and Their Problem with the Color Line," in *Beyond Black and White: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the US South and Southwest*, ed. Stephanie Cole and Alison M. Parker (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 123-44. On Hispanics in Utah, see Jorge Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912-1999* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002); and Vicente V. Mayer Jr., *Utah: A Hispanic History* (Salt Lake City: American West Center, University of Utah, 1975).

¹⁴ For a concise overview of American racial views in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), chap. 2; also Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). On white fears about miscegenation, see Williamson, *New People*, esp. chap. 2. On racial views among Latter-day Saints, who formed the majority in late nineteenth-century Utah, see Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).



THE PEOPLES OF UTAH COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

remote locations, such articles brought the specter of race-mixing into the sheltered homes of white Utahns, collapsing the geographical, demographic, and cultural distances that belied the differences between Utah and those other locales.¹⁵

Not all of the stories, however, took place thousands of miles away. In November 1878, in a ceremony officiated by a minister from an unnamed congregation, a “full blooded Negro” married “a white haired Scandinavian girl” in Salt Lake City. (Later sources stated the woman was English, not Scandinavian; one way or the other she was of northern European origin and fair-complexioned.) The *Salt Lake Tribune* commented that the “alliance” was “shocking to the sense of decent people.” The proudly anti-Mormon newspaper further editorialized that despite the undesirability of the union, “in Zion there is no law against it, nor for that matter, against a colored man marrying half a dozen white women.” The anonymous author of the short article undoubtedly reflected majority white opinion in condemning the interracial marriage, but also used the occasion to include a less than subtle dig at the other alternative form of marriage more commonly practiced in the territory. The article concluded with a dire prediction that reflected popular nineteenth-century racial views, that if such cases of miscegenation were to

George and Lucinda Vilate Flake Stevens. George Stevens, whose mother was Spanish, was born in 1839 in Lorad, Mexico, and came to Utah in 1860. In 1872 he married Lucinda Vilate Flake, a daughter of Green and Martha Crosby Flake who was born in Union on December 2, 1854.

¹⁵ A sample of these stories about miscegenation in faraway places in the years leading up to the 1888 bill includes: *Daily Corinne Reporter*, February 3, 1872 (reporting a case in Massachusetts); *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, May 14, 1879 (Virginia); *Deseret News* August 16, 1882 (Michigan); *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 3, 1884 (New York); *Ogden Standard Examiner*, October 23, 1887 (Portugal).

continue unabated, “man would degenerate into a billy goat in a few generations, and he would be ringed, streaked, speckled and spotted.”¹⁶

Two letters to the editor responding to the episode followed in the next day’s issue. The author of the first letter, clearly a non-Mormon, did not countenance interracial marriage, but said he could hardly blame the girl, when the alternative in Utah was all too often polygamy: “Is it at all surprising that when she sees her own countrymen, distinguished leaders in Zion, at the head of the Church, doing that which is contrary to all law and decency, she should get ‘a little off’ herself?” The second letter accepted the marriage as mutually consensual, lawful, and “solemnized by a respected clergyman.” The author laid the blame for race-mixing not at the feet of Mormon marriage practices that opened the door for interracial unions, but on whites in the slave South who first “commenced the act of miscegenation in this country.”¹⁷ While the various authors pointed fingers in multiple directions, there was a general consensus that the interracial marriage, while technically legal under territorial law in 1878, was at the very least unfortunate.

Although Mormons and non-Mormons could not agree on much in the territory’s highly charged religious and political environment, both groups shared a disdain for miscegenation, as reflected in their respective newspapers. The *Salt Lake Tribune*’s editorializing on racial degradation has already been noted. Furthermore, the non-Mormon *Ogden Standard Examiner* sarcastically observed that for all their talk of equality, “nigger-worshippers” and “social equality preachers” ultimately rejected mixed-race couples.¹⁸ A later article in the same newspaper provided a dim commentary on some of Frederick Douglass’s recent comments on the future of African Americans—it referred to the “commingling of white and black” as “horrible,” rejected the practice of “monstrous miscegenation,” and asserted as a fact the intellectual inferiority of “the mulatto.”¹⁹

Latter-day Saints, the majority population in Utah, similarly weighed in on race-mixing as both a spiritual and social evil. In an 1863 address in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, Brigham Young emphatically declared, “Shall I tell you the law of God in regard to the African race? If the white man who belongs to the chosen seed mixes his blood with the seed of Cain, the penalty, under the law of God, is death on the spot.”²⁰ In his account of the trial of the murderers of Joseph Standing, an LDS missionary killed by a mob in northern Georgia in July 1879, Southern States Mission president John Morgan commented on the “variegated colors, all the way from coal black to nearly pure Anglo-Saxon,” that were represented in the jury box.

¹⁶ *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, November 26, 1878.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, November 27, 1878.

¹⁸ *Ogden Standard Examiner*, May 21, 1883.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, September 25, 1887.

²⁰ Brigham Young, “The Persecutions of the Saints,” in Brigham Young, et al., *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints’ Book Depot, 1854–1886), 10:110.

He opined that justice could hardly be expected among a population that so vividly “testified of the practical workings of the principle of miscegenation.”²¹ Morgan’s equation of moral failings with racial impurity is telling. In his mind, the offspring of mixed-race relationships was inherently lacking in both moral and intellectual faculties, a view common to nineteenth-century racial thought. This assessment of the low quality of southern racial composition was echoed a few years later in a report by a Mormon elder in West Virginia. In an often harshly worded letter, the missionary lamented the “damning influence” that “inter-marriage with the colored race” had caused throughout the South, spreading the “curse of Cain” among its inhabitants. He referred to the “dreadful effects” and “moral degradation” that ensued in the wake of such widespread race-mixing, and proposed that “Nothing short of a judgment equal to the Deluge can now arrest the contaminating progress of this cancer of the soul.”²²

The rhetorical strategy employed in these two letters was characteristic of the general pattern of Mormon apologists in the 1880s. They typically sought to defend their own peculiar marriage system both by extolling its virtues and by attacking the sexual vices of all others, whether it was miscegenation in the South or prostitution in the urban Northeast. For instance, church president John Taylor protested the 1882 Edmunds Act by pointing out the sexual infelicities “in Washington, where miscegenation has prevailed to so great an extent” and adultery was common practice among “three fourths of the members of Congress.”²³ Responding to a nation that portrayed polygamous Mormons as the most deluded and degraded of all people, Latter-day Saints counterattacked by highlighting the moral depravity of their critics. Mormons’ strong disavowal of miscegenation certainly reflected trends in late-nineteenth-century LDS theology and culture, but it also represented a political tactic calculated to deflect attention and criticism at the high point of the national anti-polygamy crusade.

In the years before miscegenation was outlawed, race-mixing was discouraged in Utah as a social taboo by Mormons and non-Mormons alike. When that taboo was violated, Utahns often resorted to public shaming and even vigilante violence. In late 1884, a white soldier stationed at Fort Douglas just outside Salt Lake City married an African American prostitute. One report tried to protect the soldier by saying that he was “grossly under the influence of strong drink at the time and therefore not in his right senses,” but the Methodist clergyman who performed the wedding said he did not detect that the soldier was “under the influence of

²¹ *Deseret News*, November 5, 1879. As Morgan predicted, all of the accused in Standing’s death were found not guilty, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

²² *Ibid.*, November 18, 1885.

²³ John Taylor, “The Mighty Mission of the Saints,” *Journal of Discourses*, 23:265–66. Also see Davis Bitton, “Polygamy Defended: One Side of a Nineteenth-Century Polemic,” in *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 34–53; and Gordon, *Mormon Question*, 98–99.

liquor to any extent.” The scandal provoked a torrent of public castigation, and the newspapers dubbed the incident “An Unsavory Affair.” The unnamed soldier’s “disgraced” regiment was reported to “look upon the affair not only with regret but disgust.” The minister, claiming that at the time he had taken the soldier’s “dark complexion” as a sign that he was in fact “a colored man,” admitted to being deeply embarrassed by the episode and vowed never to repeat such a mistake. The *Deseret News* concluded that it was an honest and unintentional lapse on the minister’s part, but it gave no excuse for the “ill conduct” of the soldier.²⁴ In a more dramatic scene several years earlier, in December 1866, a black Utahn named Thomas Colbourn was lynched, his throat sliced and a note pinned to his chest reading, “Notice To All Niggers! Warning!! Leave White Women Alone!!!” Although allegations that Colbourn was sexually involved with several white women were never substantiated, the incident powerfully illustrated the grim fact that in Utah, as in other parts of the country, even the hint of interracial sexual relations could be used as provocation or justification for a lynching.²⁵

By 1888, public opinion in Utah, among both Mormons and non-Mormons, clearly stood opposed to interracial marriage, particularly between whites and blacks or Asians. On March 8, the territorial legislature passed “An Act Regulating Marriage,” which “prohibited and declared void” marriage between “a negro and a white person” and between “a mongolian and a white person,” although mixed marriages performed outside the territory were honored in Utah. In light of the widespread antipathy toward race-mixing, the passage of the bill is not particularly extraordinary. Utah’s anti-miscegenation statute was not a freestanding piece of legislation, however, but rather part of a more expansive code regulating acceptable marriage practice and procedure. The law also prohibited polygamy, incest, marriage to “an idiot or lunatic,” and underage unions.²⁶

²⁴ *Deseret News*, December 3, 1884.

²⁵ Story recounted in Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 345–46. Colbourn had been in trouble with the law previously, having been convicted of manslaughter in 1859 and sentenced to one year at hard labor at the territorial penitentiary. See (*Salt Lake*) *Valley Tan*, September 21, 1859. A sample of key works dealing with sexuality and lynching include Crystal Nicole Feimster, “‘Ladies and Lynching’: The Gendered Discourse of Mob Violence in the New South, 1880–1930” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2000); Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900*, ed. with an introduction by Jacqueline Jones Royster (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997); Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women’s Campaign Against Lynching*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black/White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

²⁶ “An Act Regulating Marriage,” *Laws of the Territory of Utah*, sec. 1, 2, 5; also see *Compiled Laws of Utah*, sec. 2583, 2584, 2587. The act is quite long, but the most relevant sections are as follows:

“Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah:* That marriages between parents and children, ancestors and descendants of every degree, and between brothers and sisters of the half as well as the whole blood, and between uncles and nieces or aunts and nephews, or between any persons related to each other within and not including the fourth degree of consanguinity, computed according to the rules of civil law, are incestuous and void from the beginning, whether the relationship is



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The unique content and legislative history of the bill bears more thorough consideration.

The 1888 marriage law was the work of the first territorial legislature to meet following the enactment of the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887), which had finally put teeth into federal anti-polygamy legislation by declaring plural marriage a felony, disenfranchising polygamists, and barring those who practiced or believed in plural marriage from jury duty or holding public office.²⁷ This radically

This photograph of the Chinn Chong family was taken sometime before 1911 at 49 Commercial Street in Salt Lake City.

legitimate or illegitimate.

"Sec. 2. Marriage is prohibited and declared void:

"1. With an idiot or lunatic.

"2. When there is a husband or wife living from whom the person marrying has not been divorced.

"3. When not solemnized by an authorized person, except as provided in section 7 of this act.

"4. When at the time of marriage the male is under fourteen, or the female is under twelve years of age.

"5. Between a negro and a white person.

"6. Between a mongolian and a white person.

"Sec. 5. Marriages solemnized in any other country, State or Territory, if valid when solemnized, are valid here."

²⁷ For a concise history of the anti-polygamy movement, see Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 178-84. The most thorough and insightful treatment, particularly in the form of the legal conflict, is Gordon, *The Mormon Question*.

changed the face of Utah politics, and when the new territorial legislature came into session, it was filled with non-Mormon legislators who took the seats of polygamists displaced by Edmunds-Tucker.²⁸ The new legislators were eager both to punish their long-time local antagonists and to please their anti-polygamist allies throughout the nation. They sought to strengthen the government's institutional control over marriage by enacting injunctions against undesirable forms, targeting plural marriage in particular, and imposing more stringent regulations on how marriages could be performed.

The legislative session began with a speech by Governor Caleb West railing against the Mormon institutions of theocracy and polygamy, and enjoining the new legislature to pass marriage laws that would be in harmony with Edmunds-Tucker.²⁹ Legislators took his call to heart. The House of Representatives and Territorial Council passed a joint resolution supporting the "just, humane and impartial enforcement" of federal anti-polygamy legislation.³⁰ In addition, three separate bills regarding marriage were proposed, one for the punishment of polygamy, another on divorce, and finally the broad "Act Regulating Marriage." The first two were rejected in committee, based in part on the fact that Congress had already legislated "fully and in detail upon the questions involved," and that further legislation on the territorial level would not only be unnecessary but presumptuous.³¹ The "Act Regulating Marriage," proposed in the House by Representative E. D. Hoge of Salt Lake City, a former probate and district court judge who in 1888 was a prominent member of the Liberal Party, was the only one of the trio to be passed and signed, but not before significant debate and amendment.³²

The original draft of the marriage bill had no provision outlawing miscegenation. As first drawn up by Hoge, the bill barred marriage in various circumstances, but there was no mention of racial restrictions.³³ It was not

²⁸ See Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1971), 221.

²⁹ Address by Gov. Caleb W. West to Joint Session of Utah Territorial Legislature, January 9, 1888, in *Council Journal of the Twenty-Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1888), 23-29.

³⁰ H.C.R. 21, adopted March 2, 1888; see *House Journal of the Twenty-Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1888), 134-35, 224-25.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 132. Newspaper reports on the introduction of the anti-polygamy and divorce bills include (*Provo*) *Utah Enquirer*, January 17, 1888; and *Deseret News*, January 25, 1888.

³² E. D. Hoge was active in Utah's political and legal system throughout the 1870s and 1880s, and as an active Liberal Party member was frequently critical of the LDS church. See *Deseret News*, February 15, 1888. He was a defendant in the Supreme Court case *Murphy v. Ramsey*, 114 U.S. 15 (1885), concerning the registration of voters under the Edmunds Act. In May 1890 Hoge's wife Lucille testified in an unlawful cohabitation case against Joseph E. Taylor, who had taken her sister Lisadore as a plural wife in 1876. *Deseret Weekly*, May 31, 1890.

³³ The original draft is printed in *Utah Enquirer*, January 17, 1888. That racial restrictions were added later is also suggested by examining the working bill for H.F. No. 6, "A Bill for An Act Regulating Marriage," in Territorial Legislative Records, Box 13, Folder 54; clauses 5 and 6 of Section 2 were clearly added after the rest of the section had been written.

until the bill came back from the judiciary committee that an amendment “to prohibit miscegenation,” along with several other changes, was written into the text and then adopted by the House.³⁴ The marriage bill sparked prolonged and heated debate over the various sections relating to polygamy, but the clauses proscribing marriage with a “negro” or “Mongolian” seem to have not provoked discussion after their inclusion.³⁵ The bill passed with strong support in both the House and Council, and it was signed by Governor West on March 8, becoming law immediately. When Utah achieved statehood in 1896, the statute was adopted as part of the state code.³⁶

Despite the relative paucity of extant historical records detailing the precise nature of the deliberations surrounding the bill, it seems clear that a number of factors influenced both the language and the passage of the new marriage law. First, the members of the incoming legislature, made up largely of staunch opponents of polygamy, were eager to pass territorial legislation paralleling national laws that outlawed plural marriage. Indeed, one printed version of the 1888 marriage act is entitled *Mormon Legislation Against Polygamy*, revealing the intent, if not necessarily the authorship, behind the “Act Regulating Marriage.”³⁷ Besides harboring genuine repulsion toward plural marriage and a certain vindictiveness toward the deposed Mormon majority, the new territorial government also sought legitimacy in its quest for statehood. Utah sent its sixth formal request for statehood to Congress in 1888.³⁸ While the petition eventually failed, it would have been only natural for the territory’s lawmakers to try to appear as credible as possible in the nation’s anti-polygamist eyes, and the marriage law was one way of accomplishing this.

The confluence of anti-polygamy and anti-miscegenation legislation thus came as the new territorial legislature drafted bills targeting plural marriage and then extended the law by adding language prohibiting all “unacceptable” forms of marriage. In this way, especially since the miscegenation clauses were added later as amendments, it seems that interracial marriage was not specifically targeted as it was in other states, but was collateral damage in the territory’s attempt to regulate marriage practices, all inspired by the nationwide anti-polygamy movement. Utah’s anti-

³⁴ *Deseret News*, February 15, 1888. No records of the internal workings of legislative committees of that era are available.

³⁵ See *Ibid.*; (*Provo*) *Utah Enquirer*, February 17, 1888; *Deseret News*, February 22, 1888. There are no transcripts of actual floor debates, so newspaper records are all that survive, and none mention any discussion of the miscegenation clauses after they were added to the original bill.

³⁶ *Revised Statutes of Utah* (1898), Title 29, Chapter 1, “Marriage,” pp. 329–31. The final vote on the marriage act was 16–5 (2 absent) in the House, and 8–1 (2 absent) in the Council. Voting totals recorded on working bill and in *House Journal* (1888), 251.

³⁷ *Mormon Legislation Against Polygamy*, March 2, 1888, Americana Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo. The pamphlet includes a reprint of both the marriage law (see note 26) and the joint resolution “Endorsing Congressional Anti-Polygamy Laws.”

³⁸ See Larson, “Americanization” of Utah, 222.

miscegenation legislation was not simply a product of racism, although ideas about race and gender certainly dictated that miscegenation was an obnoxious offense in the minds of most white Utahns. Instead, the ban on interracial marriage emerged from a complex interaction of race, religion, culture, and local and national politics.

Racial antipathies do not in themselves explain the law, but race relations did help shape its provisions. Given the contemporary racial climate, it is not surprising that the 1888 law outlawed whites from marrying African Americans or “Mongolians”; indeed, that same year federal legislation regarding Chinese exclusion (originally passed six years earlier) was expanded.³⁹ One of the intriguing features of Utah’s 1888 marriage bill, however, was its tacit approval, via the absence of any restrictions, of unions between whites and Native Americans. The various local Indian tribes together constituted by far the largest racial minority in the territory (although blacks outnumbered “civilized Indians” on the census records). If Anglo-European racial purity was of paramount concern, it seems odd that interracial marriages with “savages” were not prohibited along with other non-white groups. Furthermore, bordering states and territories including Arizona, Idaho, and Nevada all proscribed intermarriage between whites and Indians, so a regional precedent existed.⁴⁰ Holes in the historical record, particularly regarding legislative intent, force us to speculate somewhat, but three explanations are worth considering for Utah’s relatively liberal policy toward white-Indian intermarriage: first, the “reality on the ground” that by the 1880s most Utah Indians were effectively removed from areas of white settlement; second, the distinctiveness of LDS theology and particularly the practical implementation of Brigham Young’s Indian policies; and third, broader patterns of relative tolerance among many Westerners toward limited Indian-white race mixing.

Utah was no different from the rest of the nation in that white settlement meant Indian displacement. Particularly in the harsh climate of the Great Basin, the scarcity of resources and good land dictated that whites and Indians would be in competition with one another. As happened elsewhere, eventually white settlers prevailed and Indians were forced out. By the 1880s, only a few scattered bands of Indians remained outside reservations, and the Indian “threat” was seen as largely contained. Thus, the legislators who omitted Indians when drafting the anti-miscegenation clause of the 1888 marriage bill may have simply considered white-Indian interaction as non-existent or almost entirely inconsequential from a pragmatic perspective.

With Mormons dominating the territory’s politics and culture for so much of Utah’s formative years, their religious beliefs inevitably affected

³⁹ The 1888 federal law essentially built on the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, barring all but “Chinese officials, teachers, students, tourists, and merchants.” On the history of Chinese exclusion laws, see Lee, *At America’s Gates*; Gyory, *Closing the Gate*; and Lucy E. Saylor, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

⁴⁰ See Johnson, *Development of State Legislation*.

social realities which then became reflected in policy. Latter-day Saints believed that Native Americans were descendents of a branch of the house of Israel (called “Lamanites” in *The Book of Mormon*) who would eventually play a central role in the sacred history culminating in Jesus Christ’s millennial return. Mormon theology thereby encouraged—in an ideal sense—a relatively high degree of racial tolerance toward Indian peoples, especially when compared with predominant attitudes on the American frontier. As territorial governor and LDS church president, Brigham Young carried out a largely benevolent, if paternalistic and strategic, relationship with Utah’s natives. Historians’ assessments of the nature of Mormon-Indian relations have varied widely, but in a recent article Sondra Jones persuasively argued that the weight of contemporary scholarship demonstrates that “despite the intermittent (and occasionally bloody) conflict, an extraordinarily benign, symbiotic relationship *did* exist during the first years of Mormon-Indian contact,” and that “while spattered with injustice and abuse, the pattern of Mormon-Indian relations still differed to a *significant* degree from Indian relations elsewhere on the American frontiers, particularly during the first fifteen years of Mormon settlement.”⁴¹ Young even instituted and promoted a limited program of intermarriage between LDS missionaries and Indian women, with the intention of “saving” the Native Americans and engendering friendly relations between tribes and the outlying Mormon settlements. Sporadic outbreaks of violence and racist attitudes held by Mormons on the grassroots level curbed the appeal and effectiveness of the intermarriage program, but by 1870 nearly three dozen Mormon men had taken Indian wives, largely in southern Utah and Nevada.⁴²

Of course, when drafting the 1888 marriage bill the mostly non-Mormon legislators would not have felt any particular commitment or acted with fidelity to Latter-day Saint theology regarding the “Lamanites.” They may have been aware, however, that they were following precedents set by other western states’ legislation on the matter. Whereas prohibitions on whites marrying African Americans were universal throughout the Far West, with bans on marrying Asians following not far behind, intermarriage policy toward Native Americans was spottier, with only half of the states and territories in the Intermountain and Pacific West including Indians in their miscegenation statutes.⁴³ The laws that did

⁴¹ Sondra Jones, “Saints or Sinners? The Evolving Perceptions of Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah Historiography,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72 (Winter 2004): 34–36; emphasis in original.

⁴² See Richard D. Kitchen, “Interracial Marriages Between LDS Missionaries and Native Americans, 1853–1877” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1996); and Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children*, esp. chap. 2. Encapsulating his thought on the matter, Young taught Mormons that in their relations with the Indians, “We are their saviours.” See “Discourse by Brigham Young, Proper Treatment of the Indians, etc,” *Journal of Discourses*, 6:328. For an example of how popular Mormon attitudes had departed from Young’s ideal some three decades after his death, see Susa Young Gates, “The Courtship of Kanosh: A Pioneer Indian Love Story,” *Improvement Era* 9 (November 1905): 24.

⁴³ Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington had restrictions on whites marrying Native Americans at some point; California, Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, and Wyoming did not.

exclude Native Americans can often be traced to the public's prejudice against individual tribes in local situations, such as white Arizonans' antipathy toward Apaches as a result of the ongoing wars designed to force the tribe onto reservations.⁴⁴ Laws that allowed for (or at least ignored) Indian-white intermarriage can be explained in part by the so-called "Pocahontas rule," in which Indian "princesses" made for acceptable wives for white men; while by no means universally accepted, and generally not extended toward Indian males marrying white women, it was a cultural myth prevalent among many nineteenth-century whites.⁴⁵ Even more concretely, the very nature of frontier settlement meant that most western states and territories had many prominent practitioners and descendants of intermarriage between Indians and whites, including trappers, traders, and (mostly Protestant) missionaries.⁴⁶ It is, therefore, plausible that the Utah legislature did not include a clause prohibiting white-Indian miscegenation based on the territory's history of paternalist relations and even intermarriage, and in so doing the Utah statute followed suit not just with Brigham Young's policy but with several other western states as well.

The combination of law and social taboo proved effective in disciplining those who transgressed accepted racial boundaries in the years following the 1888 statute. Not just interracial marriage, but race-mixing in general was viewed with suspicion and often punished in Utah. In 1889, "a lady missionary" tipped off authorities that a "white woman and a Mongolian" were living together in Logan, along with the woman's seven-year old daughter. When state authorities investigated, they described the conditions as "crowded" and "filthy," and promptly removed the child from the home, as well as another sixteen-year-old daughter who was living separately with another "Chinaman." The mother protested, saying that she and her husband had been legally married by a judge in Idaho before coming to Utah. The legality of their marriage failed to counter negative public sentiment, however, as the *Utah Journal*, in a front-page story, called the case

⁴⁴ See Roger D. Hardaway, "Unlawful Love: A History of Arizona's Miscegenation Law," *Journal of Arizona History* 27 (Winter 1986): 378. The situation in Arizona is ironic considering that many "white" Arizonans had at least some Indian ancestry based on centuries of contact between Europeans and native tribes in the Southwest.

⁴⁵ See Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁴⁶ See David D. Smits, "'Squaw Men,' 'Half-Breeds,' and Amalgamators: Late Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Attitudes Toward Indian-White Race-Mixing," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 15, No. 3 (1991): 46, 56. On early relations between European trappers and explorers and Indian women in the West, see Margaret D. Jacobs, "The Eastmans and the Luhans: Interracial Marriage between White Women and Native American Men, 1875-1935," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 23, 3 (2002): 29-54; Mark Alan Sigmon, "Heretics of Race: An Exploration of Indian-White Relationships in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1820-1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Berkeley, 1995); Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); William R. Swagerty, "Marriage and Settlement Patterns of Rocky Mountain Trappers and Traders," *Western Historical Quarterly* 11 (April 1980): 159-80; Walter O'Meara, *Daughters of the Country: The Women of the Fur Traders and Mountain Men* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968); and Lewis O. Saum, *The Fur Trader and the Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965).

“one of the most shocking cases of miscegenation” in the city’s history.⁴⁷ The family may well have lived in substandard housing conditions, but it seems clear that in this case the activation of the state’s coercive power over family life was triggered in large part by the mixed-race nature of the relationship.

Another remarkable case occurred in Ogden in 1898. For several days police had suspected William Howard, an African American waiter, of living with a German girl named Ella Howarth. Detectives appeared at their door after midnight and discovered them together, but Howard immediately produced a marriage certificate proving that they had wed the previous Friday evening. He insisted that Howarth was “part negro,” which would have made the union legal, but the police refused to believe that “a blonde” who looked “as little like a person part negro as one could imagine” was in fact mixed race, and they arrested the couple a few days later. Prosecutors sought to prove that the marriage was invalidated as a case of miscegenation and that the couple was thus guilty of fornication. The day before the trial, Howarth cracked and “confessed” to the county attorney that she was in fact “white.” Charges were dropped against her, but were pursued against Howard. The trial’s key moment came when Howarth took the stand and testified “as to her nativity, and that she was not of negro blood.” After only five minutes of deliberations, the jury returned with a guilty verdict, and William Howard was sentenced to twenty days in prison.⁴⁸

Paralleling the Quong Wah and Dora Harris episode that would occur later that same year, this case found the state actively engaged in defining the boundaries of race, and in determining who would be placed in each respective racial category. Physical appearance trumped Howarth’s original claim of mixed ancestry, as investigators believed they could “see” her “true” racial composition. Miscegenation law thus became the arena for the construction of racial and gender identities. Ella Howarth’s pure white womanhood was fashioned by means of a confession exacted under duress and then legitimated by dropping charges against her. William Howard’s deviant male blackness, on the other hand, was reified and criminalized by charging and ultimately convicting him—not her—of miscegenation and

HOWARD IS FOUND GUILTY

His Marriage To Ella Howarth
Null and Void.

The Jury Decides That the Woman
Is White and the Negro Is Black
—Twenty Days Is the Sentence.

This headline is from the Ogden Standard, March 12, 1898.

⁴⁷ (Logan) *Utah Journal*, May 22, 1889.

⁴⁸ *The (Ogden) Standard*, February 6, March 12, 1898.

fornication. That the case was publicized in the newspapers further reinforced the community's commitment to certain constructions of racial identities and gender roles, as legislated by Utah's anti-miscegenation statute.

American nationalism, imperialism, xenophobia, and racism peaked in the decades following the 1888 marriage law. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked an era of scientific race-typing and the legalized restriction of immigration. Numerous scientists and authors helped shape popular ideologies of the superiority of northern European (particularly Anglo-Saxon) stock and railed against the evils of miscegenation, thus reinforcing the bans on interracial marriage that most states had adopted by 1900. A representative and widely influential synthesis of this nativist and eugenicist ideology appeared in Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race*, which asserted the primacy of "Nordics" over other racial and ethnic groups. Extremely popular (originally published in 1916, the book went through four editions by 1923), *The Passing of the Great Race* made apocalyptic predictions of Nordic "race suicide," a combined result of miscegenation with "lower" races and decreasing birthrates among pure Nordics. According to Grant, Nordics with their superior intellect and technology would never lose out to the lesser races on the field of battle, but if they allowed themselves to "mix with inferior strains or die out through race suicide, then the citadel of civilization will fall for mere lack of defenders." He concluded that "The laws against miscegenation must be greatly extended if the higher races are to be maintained."⁴⁹

The increased momentum of scientific racism and eugenics, with their strong hostility toward miscegenation, helped inspire new prohibitory legislation in several western states. For instance, Wyoming, which had repealed its original anti-miscegenation statute in 1882 after only thirteen years on the books, passed a new law in 1913 that prohibited whites from marrying "Negroes" or "Orientals." Wyoming's 1869 statute has been interpreted as a means of preserving the sparse population of white females for white men instead of non-white workers, but by the early twentieth century the number of non-whites in the state was insubstantial and did not represent significant competition for white brides, and so the 1913 law can be explained as a result of the racial prejudice and xenophobia common to the era.⁵⁰ In another example, Arizona's anti-miscegenation law was amended in 1931 to prevent whites from marrying "Hindus, Malays, Negroes, Mongolians, and Indians," expanding upon the state's earlier 1865 and 1909 statutes. The Arizona law was twice challenged in court, in *Kirby v. Kirby* (1922) and *In re Monks' Estate* (1937). Both cases were essentially concerned with property rights, and in each case the deciding court (the Arizona

⁴⁹ Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 4th rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), xxxi, 60. Grant later advised Congress in the national immigration debates and in the drafting of the 1924 immigration restriction bill.

⁵⁰ Roger D. Hardaway, "Prohibiting Interracial Marriage: Miscegenation Laws in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming* 52 (Spring 1980): 55-60.

Supreme Court in *Kirby*, the California state court of appeals in *Monks*’) made its ruling on grounds other than the miscegenation clauses themselves, thus tacitly upholding the constitutionality of Arizona’s ban on interracial marriage.⁵¹

Utah was no exception to this upsurge in race theorizing and the attendant rise in discrimination in the period from the 1890s until World War II. The majority thinking among LDS church leaders, who still maintained significant cultural if not explicit political power in the state, paralleled national and regional trends. B. H. Roberts, president of the Southern States Mission in the 1880s and a prominent LDS theologian and ecclesiastical leader, wrote in a 1907 training manual that the South was justified in maintaining “at all hazards, and at all sacrifices an impassible social chasm between black and white. This she must do in behalf of her blood, her essence, of the stock of her Caucasian race.” He went on to affirm the common notion that social equality among the races would lead to sexual relations and intermarriage between them, which meant that the “Caucasian would be irrevocably doomed.” According to Roberts, “No other conceivable disaster,” including “flood and fire, fever and famine and the sword,” could “compare with such miscegenation.”⁵² The LDS church’s so-called “Negro doctrine,” which barred black men from being ordained to the priesthood until the policy was reversed in 1978, was further refined and defended during the early twentieth century, and in at least one instance the priesthood was denied to a white man who had married a black woman. Even when church leaders advocated equal civil and political rights for African Americans, they displayed what historian Lester Bush has called a consistent “aversion to miscegenation.”⁵³

Of course, discrimination went far beyond the LDS church and was prevalent within the broader social and political sphere. One poignant example came in 1939, when various real estate companies attempted to persuade lawmakers to create a segregated residential district for blacks in Salt Lake City, similar to other successful urban segregation movements that had taken place in numerous locales across America. The initiative failed

⁵¹ See Hardaway, “Unlawful Love,” 380–83, for a fuller treatment of these court cases.

⁵² B. H. Roberts, *Seventy’s Course in Theology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1907–1912), 1:165–66.

⁵³ Lester E. Bush Jr., “Mormonism’s Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview,” in *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church*, ed. Bush and Armand L. Mauss (Midvale: Signature Books, 1984), 89; see pp. 78–79 for the specific case cited here. For instance, in a 1946 article to the young women of the LDS church, J. Reuben Clark, a member of the First Presidency, instructed, “Now, you should hate nobody; you should give to every man and every woman, no matter what the color of his and her skin may be, full civil rights. You should treat them as brothers and sisters, but do not ever let that wicked virus get into your systems that brotherhood either permits or entitles you to mix races which are inconsistent. Biologically, it is wrong; spiritually, it is wrong.” J. Reuben Clark, Jr., “Plain Talk to Girls,” *Improvement Era* 49 (August 1946): 492.

In June 1978, LDS church leaders announced that “all worthy male members of the Church may be ordained to the priesthood without regard for race or color,” thus overturning the policy that had stood for over a century. “Official Declaration—2,” *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 293–94.

largely because of the determined activism of African American women who sat in on legislative sessions and made their protests public through the newspapers.⁵⁴ In short, a distinctive racial hierarchy was evident in virtually all aspects of Utah society just as it was throughout the rest of the nation.⁵⁵

Following the pattern in other western states and in accordance to the racial climate of the early decades of the twentieth century, Utah passed a more specific and restrictive amendment to its miscegenation law. In 1939 three state senators introduced a bill to amend the statute “relating to prohibited and void marriages.” The bill kept all previous aspects of the state’s marriage law, but added several classes of people to those deemed unfit to marry, including anyone with a live case of syphilis or gonorrhea, and anyone subject to chronic epilepsy (unless they had been sterilized). The most significant change—underlined in the printed form of the working bill so as to add emphasis—was the revision of which racial groups would be excluded from intermarriage with whites. The law retained the earlier restrictions on those who were “negro” or “Mongolian,” but now also stipulated that marriage was prohibited between a “member of the malay race or a mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon, and a white person.” The bill went through both legislative houses quickly and was adopted with virtually no opposition, finally passing by votes of 44-1 (fifteen absent) in the House and 20-2 (one absent) in the Senate.⁵⁶

The overwhelming support for the bill is revealing. As opposed to the original 1888 bill, in which miscegenation seems to have been something of an afterthought in the process of defining acceptable marriage practices and eradicating polygamy, the primary purpose of the 1939 law was to tighten restrictions on the permissibility of non-white groups to marry whites. Despite a tiny non-white population—racial minorities never constituted more than 1.8 percent of the total Utah state population from 1900 to 1940, and their total actually decreased in absolute numbers and percentage from 1930 to 1940—the state legislature felt the issue of miscegenation to be important enough to amend the existing law and

⁵⁴ Oral histories remembering the event include interviews of Lucille Bankhead and Albert Fritz, respectively, in Leslie G. Kelen and Eileen Hallet Stone, eds., *Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1996), 73-77, 101-06. Earlier attempts to create a segregated zone for Chinese immigrants also failed in 1874 and 1882; see Lansing, “Race, Space, and Chinese Life,” 223.

⁵⁵ See F. Ross Peterson, “‘Blindside’: Utah on the Eve of *Brown v. Board of Education*,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 73 (Winter 2005): 4-20.

⁵⁶ “An Act Amending Section 40-1-2, Revised Statutes of Utah, 1933, Relating to Prohibited and Void Marriages,” S.B. No. 65, Senate Working Bills, Utah State Archives, Series 428, Box 22, Folder 31. Also see *Senate Journal, Twenty-Third Session of the Legislature of the State of Utah, 1939* (Salt Lake City: Seagull Press, 1939); and *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Utah, Twenty-Third Session of the Legislature* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, Inc., 1939).

“Mulatto” was a flexible term, often meaning any person in whom any mixture of white and black was evident. It was also used in a more specific sense, as is the case here, of a person who was half black and half white. A “quadroon” is one-quarter black, and an “octoroon” one-eighth black. See Williamson, *New People*, xii.

further define and restrict interracial marriages.⁵⁷ The law cannot be explained, therefore, as a reaction to a large in-migration of racial and ethnic minorities or even a rise in their relative strength vis-à-vis the local white population.

Without specific demographic shifts to respond to, Utah legislators simply seem to have been acting in harmony with the prevailing racial thinking of the day, which had also inspired other western states to expand their miscegenation legislation. No longer satisfied with the crude demarcations of “white,” “negro,” and “Mongolian,” Utahns adopted new categories that made their miscegenation law simultaneously more expansive and more precise. In “malay,” they found a term that solved the problem of whether or not Filipinos classified as “Mongolians.” The issue had arisen just a few years earlier in California, where a judge had ruled in 1933 that Filipinos were not part of the “Mongolian race,” thereby qualifying them to marry whites; in response the California state legislature immediately amended their miscegenation statute, adding “Malays” to the list of groups restricted from intermarriage with whites. Only five other states besides Utah listed “Malays” as a prohibited group, but significantly, four of the five (California, Nevada, Arizona, and Wyoming) were immediate or close neighbors.⁵⁸ The restriction on “Malays” was not a result of a wave of immigration—to the contrary, Filipinos were barred from immigrating to America from 1934 to 1946—but rather an attempt to shore up legal definitions of racial otherness and by extension protect whiteness from intermixture with non-white groups. This development was similar to the 1888 restriction on marriage with “Mongolians” paralleling federal Chinese exclusion legislation in the 1880s.

The 1939 amendment also defined and delimited the extent of transgressive blackness, making it clear that mixed-race individuals or those with any African American ancestry to the fourth generation—mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons—fell outside the boundaries of acceptable marriage partners for whites. Using such specific language eliminated the murky question of how much blackness made someone black. Rather than relying on unavoidably subjective judgments of skin tone, the new law circumvented physiology by appealing to genealogy, thus reinforcing a biological construction of race that prevailed in popular, legal, religious, and academic circles until well past mid-century. Significantly, the amendment did not go so far as to implement the “one-drop rule,” thus technically allowing for a person with a remote African American ancestor to still

⁵⁷ Statistical information from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Vol. 2, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 7, *Utah-Wyoming* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 14. In 1930, of a total population of 507,847, blacks numbered 1,108 in Utah, Indians 2,869, Chinese 342, Japanese 3,269, and “all other” races 292. By 1940, with the total population increasing to 550,310, the number of blacks had risen to 1,235 and Indians to 3,611, but the number of Chinese decreased to 228, Japanese to 2,210, and “all others” to 106.

⁵⁸ See Pascoe, “Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations,” 74, 79 n. 20.

qualify as white and preserving the possibility that the putative stain of possessing a distant black ancestor could be subsumed by generations of whiteness. This contrasted with the example of Virginia's 1924 "Act to Preserve Racial Integrity," which defined a "white person" as someone "who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian."⁵⁹ Pragmatically, however, in 1939 the categories of "negro," "mulatto," "quadroon," and "octoroon" cast a wide enough net to catch virtually anyone suspected of being black, and provided a precise definition even for some of those whose physical characteristics would otherwise allow them to pass for white. In specifically defining which racial groups were unfit for intermarriage with whites, the law therefore constructed the bounds of acceptable whiteness. The lawmakers who overwhelmingly passed the 1939 amendment to Utah's miscegenation law revealed existing public sentiments about racial distinctiveness and white superiority and then codified those sentiments into law, thus hardening racial hierarchy and reinforcing the attitudes that originally inspired discriminatory legislation.

The post-World War II era saw the slow and steady dismantling of Jim Crow and its web of racially discriminatory law. While the struggle for desegregation and political rights garnered most of the national media headlines, a relatively quiet battle was being waged in legislatures and courthouses around the country to put to rest the three-century-old life of America's anti-miscegenation legislation. This effort was ultimately rewarded in June 1967, when the Supreme Court ruled in *Loving v. Virginia* that state laws prohibiting interracial marriage were universally unconstitutional. The decision in *Loving* was not a spontaneous revolution in judicial policy, but rather the culmination of years of other precedent-setting rulings, during which time many states, including Utah, voluntarily repealed their anti-miscegenation statutes. The first significant legal victory came in 1948, when the California Supreme Court, in the landmark case *Perez v. Sharp*, struck down the state's prohibition of interracial marriage as a violation of equal protection under the law. The historic *Perez* ruling, and the quickening pace of the larger civil rights movement, opened the door for statutes prohibiting interracial marriage and sexual relations to be reexamined. In *McLaughlin v. Florida* (1964), the U.S. Supreme Court struck down one state's law banning extramarital interracial sex. In the meantime, most states, particularly in the West, saw the writing on the wall and repealed their laws banning interracial marriage before the federal judiciary did it for them. Enough progress had been made to change laws at the state level that by the time the Court ruled in *Loving* in 1967, the decision nullified existing law in only sixteen states, primarily in the South; all states in the Intermountain and Pacific West had already repealed their miscegenation

⁵⁹ In a classic expression of the "Pocahontas rule," anyone who had "one-sixteenth or less of the blood of the American Indian and have no other non-caucasian blood" was also considered white. Reprinted in Werner Sollors, *Interracialism: Black-White Intermarriage in American History, Literature, and Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 23-24.

legislation on their own accord.⁶⁰

The constitutionality of Utah's anti-miscegenation law nearly went uncontested until its repeal in 1963. The only formal challenge to the miscegenation clause in the state's marriage statute was *Thomas v. Children's Aid Society of Ogden*, which reached the state supreme court in 1961. The case revolved around a child born in April 1959 to unwed parents James Thomas, an African American man, and Kathleen McMurtrey, a white woman. Following the recommendation of her parents and an obstetrician, McMurtrey released her newborn baby to a licensed child placement agency. Thomas and McMurtrey resumed their relationship shortly after she had given up the child, and they were married in June 1959 in Idaho—where the law prohibiting interracial marriage had just been repealed—despite the fact that Thomas was still legally married to another woman whom he had wed three years earlier (their divorce did not go through until 1960). Upon their return to Utah, the newlyweds twice demanded the return of their child and were refused on both occasions, at which point they took the child placement agency to court. The Utah Supreme Court decided that the placement of the child was legally valid, and that the marriage between Thomas and McMurtrey was void, not because of miscegenation but due to Thomas' existing marriage. Since the ruling was made on other grounds, the court deemed it unnecessary to call into question the constitutionality of Utah's miscegenation statute, which the plaintiffs had contested, thus effectively sidestepping the issue.⁶¹

Never definitively ruled on by the courts, Utah's anti-miscegenation statute remained solidly in place until the state legislature addressed the issue in the 1963 session. As such, Utah represented the second-to-last state in the West (next to Wyoming in 1965) to repeal its miscegenation law freely. The bill, which struck out all racial restrictions in the state marriage code, passed with strong majorities in both houses of the state legislature, but not without debate.⁶² Some legislators were strongly in favor of the act

⁶⁰ *Perez v. Sharp*, California Supreme Court, 32 Cal. 2d 711, 198 P.2d 17 (1948); *McLaughlin v. Florida*, 379 U.S. 184 (1964); *Loving v. Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1 (1967). For a concise overview of the constitutional attack on anti-miscegenation laws, see Kennedy, *Interracial Intimacies*, 259–78. Oklahoma and Texas were the only two western states to have their miscegenation laws nullified by the *Loving* decision. See Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and Intercultural Relations," 79 n. 21. The only states to have never passed anti-miscegenation legislation were Alaska, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Vermont, and Wisconsin. See Kennedy, *Interracial Intimacies*, 219.

⁶¹ *Thomas v. Children's Aid Society of Ogden*, Supreme Court of Utah, 12 Utah 2d 235; 364 P.2d 1029 (1961). Two other cases, both involving disputes over inheritance, challenged the state's marriage code, but did not specifically target the miscegenation clauses. See *Sharp v. Seventh Judicial District Court of State of Utah*, 81 Utah 236, 17 P.2d 261 (1932); and *In re Vetas' Estate*, 110 Utah 187, 170 P.2d 183 (1946).

⁶² The bill, introduced as Senate Bill No. 80, "An Act Relating to Prohibiting Marriages Amending Section 30-1-2, Utah Code Annotated 1953, Removing Certain Racial Restrictions from Marriages," passed 17-7 (1 absent) in the Senate, 52-6 (6 absent) as amended in the House, and 22-0 (3 absent) in the Senate after amendment. See *Senate Journal, Thirty-Fifth Session of the Legislature of the State of Utah, 1963* (Salt Lake City: Mercury Publishing Co., 1963); and *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Utah, Thirty-Fifth Session of the Legislature* (Salt Lake City: Lorraine Press, 1963). The final version is in "Inter-Racial Marriages," *Laws of the State of Utah, 1963*, chap. 43 (1963), 163.

as a civil rights issue—one representative asserted that the bill was “based upon the Bill of Rights” and in line with recent federal civil rights legislation. Others saw the issue in more pragmatic terms, acknowledging that the Supreme Court was soon likely to strike down anti-miscegenation laws and so the state legislature might as well act before being acted upon. Another representative thought there were some unspecified “legal problems” potentially associated with the bill, but recommended passage based on the fact that it would be more inclusive of Asians in Utah society (he conspicuously omitted any mention of African Americans).⁶³

Equally interesting were the sentiments opposing the bill as expressed by one Republican representative, clearly a proud descendant of the state’s Mormon pioneers. He wanted to assure his fellow legislators that racism had nothing to do with his opposition, noting that a “colored man holding the priesthood” had entered the Salt Lake Valley in the first pioneer company with Brigham Young, and that his father had played football with “colored” people in school. He claimed, however, that it was misguided to try to achieve racial equality via intermarriage. Besides, he said, “these people” were already accepted as full equals in society, and in Utah “we really have no problem” with race (except on the issue of intermarriage). He closed with an appeal to maintain racial purity so as to not extend further the “curse” associated with the LDS priesthood ban, declaring, “I would not want to sell my heritage or the heritage of any of my posterity and have grandchildren or great-grandchildren who would not be entitled to the blessings and privileges which you are entitled to.”⁶⁴

The religious logic of this representative’s opposition to intermarriage obviously failed to persuade a great number of his fellow members of the House, but it does reveal the way in which religious beliefs can influence political ideology on an individual and potentially public level. His broader argument, that racial equality had already essentially been achieved and that harmony between the races prevailed, was typical of the moderate white response to civil rights issues in the early 1960s. Many whites, who considered themselves moderate and even progressive, were willing to extend full civil and political rights to African Americans, but wanted to stop short of legalizing intermarriage and thus racial “amalgamation,” drawing the line before establishing free and equal sexual relations between the races.⁶⁵ In

⁶³ House Floor Debate Recordings, Utah State Legislature, March 13, 1963 (audio recording), Series 596, Box 1, Utah State Archives.

⁶⁴ Ibid. In the recording the speaker is referred to as “Representative Smith.” There were two Smiths—J. McKinnon and S. Albert—in the House, both of whom voted against the bill, so it is unclear which man gave these remarks. For a contemporaneous statement echoing similar sentiments in print, see John Lewis Lund, *The Church and the Negro: A Discussion of Mormons, Negroes and the Priesthood* (n.p., 1967), 110.

⁶⁵ According to Gallup polls, 94 percent of whites disapproved of white-black interracial marriage in 1958 (versus 70 percent approval in 2003). Only 42 percent of whites in 1963 thought that black civil rights groups were asking for “too much,” while 57 percent thought they were asking for “just about what they should be asking for.” *The Gallup Organization for AARP: Civil Rights and Race Relations* (Princeton, NJ: The Gallup Organization, 2004), 26, 70–71.

the end, those who sought to keep sexual intimacy separate from equal rights failed, beginning with state court decisions such as *Perez v. Sharp*, continuing with legislative action such as the 1963 repeal of Utah's seventy-five year ban on interracial marriage, and culminating in 1967 with the Supreme Court's decision in *Loving v. Virginia*.

Interracial marriage represented one of the first distinctions made in the legal construction of race in colonial America, and was one of the last major battles won in the courts during the civil rights era. In a very real sense, opponents of full racial equality since the nineteenth century were correct in predicting that political equality would lead to social equality, which would ultimately culminate in miscegenation. The rates of interracial marriage have risen significantly since 1967 and it has become more of a fixture in American society, although same-race marriages still far outnumber mixed-race unions.⁶⁶ New debates over the nature and definition of marriage have arisen, with old arguments often employed in the service of present issues.

The history of Utah's anti-miscegenation statute provides insight into how social policy and legislation are shaped by a complex interaction of factors ranging from the local to the regional and national, and including such issues as politics, demographics, race, gender, and religion. Greater historical perspective on the power of the state in regulating private contracts such as marriage will perhaps afford us an increased share of wisdom in our contemporary deliberations.



THE PEOPLES OF UTAH COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Komer Tawatari family came to Utah in 1913 and established their home in Corinne.

⁶⁶ The number of black-white mixed marriages in the United States increased more than six-fold between 1960 and 2000, from approximately 51,000 to 330,000; of the latter number, 210,000 (64 percent) involved black husbands and white wives. Despite the increase, black-white marriages still account for only 0.6 percent of total marriages in the U.S., and over 93 percent of whites and blacks marry within their own groups. See Kennedy, *Interracial Intimacies*, 126–27.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Lucien Nunn, Provo Entrepreneur, and His Hydropower Realm in Utah and Idaho

By HUGH T. LOVIN

By 1900, European and American capitalists had invested tens of millions of dollars in American West mines, smelters, railroads, and cattle companies. Moreover, a journalist contended that exploiting additional western resources could be expected when entrepreneurs invested their money in irrigated agriculture, capitalized dry-farming on a bonanza scale, and nurtured the area's commercial and manufacturing potential.¹ In fact, commercial exploitation of western hydropower resources had already begun. For instance, Provo entre-

Lucien L. Nunn, left, and Reed Smoot.

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¹ C. M. Keyes, "A Country Ready for Capital," *World's Work*, 18 (August 1909): 11922-30.

preneur Lucien Nunn (1853–1925), who had brought his capital and technological know-how to Utah in the 1890s, set his sights on creating a new hydropower realm in Utah and Idaho. Some observers even deemed his developing and marketing of hydropower in those states to be one notable model of western industrialism during the nation’s new “Electricity Age.”

Before coming to Utah, Nunn had practiced law and built a successful hydropower empire in western Colorado. There his businesses, which he merged together in the Telluride Power Company, thrived, partly because of financial backing from Eastern industrial tycoon George Westinghouse.² Relying on technology devised largely by his brother, Paul Nunn, Lucien Nunn convinced Colorado mine operators that he could supply hydropower for running their mines and smelter machinery more cheaply than they could using their own steam-powered methods to manufacture electricity. Moreover, he proved that he could generate cheap electricity at his Ames hydropower plant and deliver it dependably by taking advantage of new technologies that allowed for long-distance transmission of this energy.³

Nunn also did business outside of Colorado. Among other places, he built electrical power plants at Niagara Falls in New York, built hydropower plants and electricity-marketing organizations in Casper, Wyoming, Norris, Montana, and other locations scattered from Texas to Washington State.⁴ In northern Utah Nunn capitalized on land adjacent to Bear Lake located in Utah and Idaho where the U.S. Department of the Interior had inadvertently restored it to the public domain, an error President Theodore Roosevelt and Attorney General Charles Bonaparte blocked the department from undoing. Nunn’s quick action secured excellent water and land rights that would permit him to generate electricity with water from this lake.⁵

With bright prospects in Utah to expand hydro-generating capabilities and transmission of electricity over long distances, Nunn expanded his Telluride Company’s operations to Utah and transferred its corporate

² Richard L. and Suzanne C. Fetter, *Telluride: From Pick to Powder* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1979), 55–58; Christian J. Bays, “Power in the Mountains: Lucien Nunn Catapults the San Juans into the Age of Electricity,” *Colorado Heritage*, No. 4 (1986): 25–37; Stephen A. Bailey, *L. L. Nunn: A Memoir* (Ithaca, NY: Telluride Association, 1933), 23, 39, 61–62.

³ P. N. Nunn, “Early Experiences in the Power Industry. . .,” May 8, 1934, (mimeographed), in Lucien Nunn Papers, Collection 37-04-1770, Box 4, Folder 52, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY; “Reminiscences of Early Electrical Development: An Address by Hon. P. N. Nunn. . .,” February 15, 1927, (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 4, Folder 2.

⁴ Bailey, *Nunn*, 11, 62, 72; Orville J. Sweeting, *Telluride: Power for the Intermountain West. A History of the Telluride Power Company, Predecessor of the Utah Power and Light Company* (New Haven, CT: Orville J. Sweeting, 1975 [typescript]), 223, copy at Wilkinson Public Library, Telluride, CO; M. E. Buck, “Reminiscences of Early Electrical Development,” [1943], (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 7, Folder 39.

⁵ “Utah Power and Light Company: History of [Its] Origin and Development Prepared in Connection with [the] Federal Power Commission Request Order Dated May 11, 1937” (Salt Lake City: Utah Power and Light Company, 1941, [mimeographed]), 133–34, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited “UPLC”); Sweeting, *Telluride*, 208–10.

business center to Provo in 1894. He also moved his place of residence to Provo in order to better direct his expanding electricity empire in Utah. For the most part, Provo's commercial community welcomed Nunn's arrival; a local newspaper even prophesied that the Telluride Company would attract many new "factories" to Provo transforming the town into a "manufacturing center."⁶ Among Provo's leading citizens that supported Nunn's plans in Utah were Reed Smoot and most of his influential family. Smoot admired Nunn's business and social style, and ignored Nunn's personal eccentricities and rumors about his unconventional sexual preferences.⁷

But not everyone in Utah was similarly disposed. Jesse Knight of Provo and owner of the Knight Power Company and other businesses detested Nunn personally, and was in bitter competition with him. By monopolizing certain local markets, Knight prevented Nunn from selling his electricity for municipal lighting purposes to Eureka, Park City, and Heber City for several years.⁸ Nunn's earliest efforts to generate electricity using Provo River water were resisted by local farmers on grounds that his prospect of damming the stream would contaminate their irrigation water. At the same time, the Denver, Rio Grande, and Western Railroad Company forced Nunn to build a smaller dam so that Nunn and the railroad could share the right-of-way in the Provo Canyon.⁹

Nunn's hydroelectric generating plant also troubled Joseph F. Smith, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, one of the principal leaders in the locally-owned Utah Light and Power Company. Nunn's aggressive marketing of his electricity lured some important customers away from locally prominent makers of electricity by offering them cheaper electricity. Hoping to appease Smith and create a more cordial relation between the Telluride Power Company and Utah's largely Mormon population, Nunn entered into an agreement with Smith on June 4, 1902, by which Smith's corporation would sell to individual customers no more than fifty horsepower of electricity, and the Telluride organization would do the same on the opposite side of a line drawn south of Salt Lake City. The agreement also stated that the Telluride Company, beginning in 1906, would share with Smith's corporate group its monopoly selling electricity to the Bingham Copper and Mining Company, which later became the Utah Copper Company.¹⁰

Elsewhere, Nunn extended his Telluride Company's operations to the

⁶ *Provo Enquirer*, October 26, 1897, cited in "UPLC," 233.

⁷ Sweeting, *Telluride*, 186; "Original Draft of Mr. Woodhouse's Early Experiences," 21 (typescript) Nunn Papers, Box 4, Folder 16.

⁸ "Knight Power Company: Corporate History," n.d., (mimeographed); "Interview with R. E. Allen," September 6, 1938, (typescript), both in Nunn Papers, Box 7, Folder 4.

⁹ Sweeting, *Nunn*, 124-125; A. E. Buckler, "Notes Connected with the Early Work of the Telluride Company in Utah," n.d., (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 4, Folder 14.

¹⁰ Sweeting, *Nunn*, 184-85. At the town of Bingham, the Nunn-owned Mountain Electric Company supplied Telluride hydropower for all street and residential lighting purposes, see "UPLC," 27.

Mercur, Tintic, and Eureka mining districts, convincing mine owners and operators that he would supply them with a cheaper and more dependable supply of electricity than local competitors, much as he had done in Colorado. Nunn also monopolized the sale of electricity at several nearby communities for lighting of streets and some residences.¹¹ Nunn's early inroads selling and distributing electricity were substantial. Still other northern Utah mining companies like the Ophir Hill Consolidated Mining Company continued to rely on its own electricity-producing at Ophir until 1912.¹²



Lucien L. Nunn

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In 1904, Nunn built his grand Olmstead hydro-electric generating plant near the mouth of Provo Canyon, and later a second facility on the Jordan River near the Utah-Salt Lake county line.¹³ These two power plants assured Nunn's industrial customers that he could supply them with a larger and more dependable supply of electricity. Later he would supply additional electricity for northern Utah customers using Logan River and Bear River water through turbines at his newer power plants near Logan and at Grace, Idaho. Nunn's Grace power plant evoked opposition especially from local farmers as well as from their sympathetic allies, including certain Latter-day Saint church authorities. Farmers feared that Nunn's industrial processes would pollute their Bear River irrigation water. It soon became apparent that the farmers' fears were no longer warranted, that hydropower-making did not pollute local irrigation water.¹⁴ Nunn's Provo-to-Grace complex of five hydro-power plants and transmission lines stretched for about two hundred miles and would yield forty-four thousand electrical horsepower to a growing number of customers.¹⁵

In addition to providing electricity to northern Utah's mining industry, Nunn spent much effort in making deals with railroad officials, operators of electrified street cars, manufacturers, and processors of agricultural

¹¹ "UPLC," 127-31; A. D. Smith, "Historical Report," September 29, 1939, 5, 13 (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 5, Folder 6; George M. Gadsby, *Utah's First Century: Sagebrush Pioneer to a Treasure House in the Mountains* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1951), 24.

¹² "UPLC," 37. For the dimensions of this industry regionally, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1996), 156-85.

¹³ "UPLC," 34-35, 159-164; Obed C. Haycock, "Electric Power Comes to Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Spring 1977): 178; "Oddities at Olmstead," *Circuit* [Salt Lake City], 31 (January 1967): 3-5.

¹⁴ P. N. Nunn, "Pioneer Work in High-Tension Electric Power Transmission: The Operations of the Telluride Power Company," *Cassier's Magazine*, 27 (January 1905): 190-95; "UPLC," 13, 16, 50, 133; Max R. McCarthy, *The Last Chance Canal Company* (Provo: Brigham Young University, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1987), 59-61.

¹⁵ Works Progress Administration for the State of Utah, *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1942), 140; Wayne Sutton, *Utah: A Centennial History* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1949), 2: 891.

commodities in towns scattered from Utah to Cache Counties. One of his important customers was the Salt Lake and Ogden Railway Company, which operated a forty-mile long track in the populous Salt Lake City-Ogden corridor of busy and growing commerce and trade.¹⁶

Conversely, Nunn had earlier written off the electrical market for street and residential lighting in the towns stretching from Provo to Logan. He called this business a “nuisance” albeit a “public service” that somebody must provide. He soon changed his mind. His experience of providing electricity for street lights and individual homes in Mercur and in several other mining communities demonstrated that selling electricity to other Utahns could add many dollars to his Telluride Company’s coffers. Moreover, Nunn believed that he could compete advantageously in northern Utah at the expense of other electricity suppliers like the Ogden Electric Light Company whose inefficiencies had caused it to be assailed publicly for the “sparseness and scarcity of electric street lighting” in Ogden.¹⁷

In his new hydro-electric empire-building effort, Nunn often relied on subsidiaries of the Telluride Company to carry the ball for him. Generally, these smaller companies, which became part of the larger Telluride corporate complex, remained partly-owned by Utahns. This practice greatly improved Nunn’s relations with local commercial communities because it gave his local proponents a slice of the new and growing market of electric commerce. And, by so camouflaging the Telluride Company’s role in electrifying municipal streets, business establishments, and residences, Nunn was able to squelch anti-Telluride outbursts from social circles where grumbling against Telluride interlopers had long been a staple.

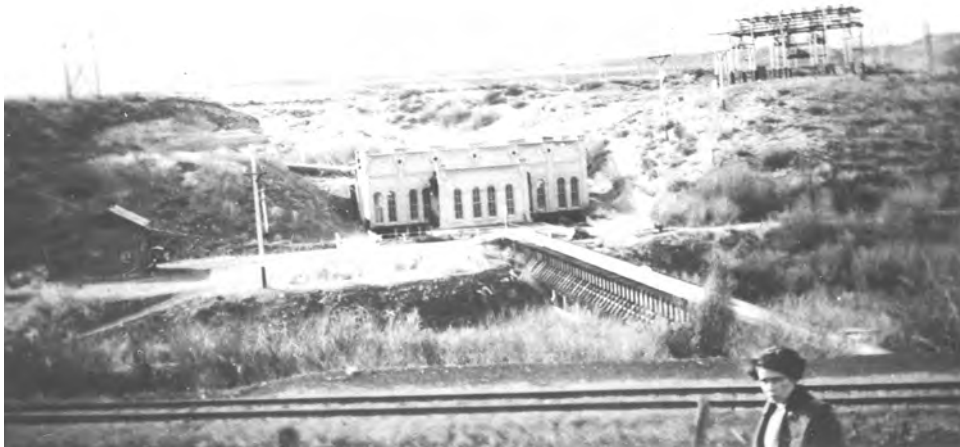
By way of example, Nunn channeled Telluride electricity to the Provo market through a subsidiary, a corporation named simply the Electric Company. Aside from Nunn and several Telluride Company associates, the subsidiary’s main owners included U.S. Senator Reed Smoot, Charles Loose, and Lafayette Holbrook. Loose and Holbrook were officials at the Smoot-controlled Provo Commercial and Savings Bank and mine owners to whom the Telluride Company supplied electricity. In addition, Holbrook was mayor of Provo and an outspoken defender of Nunn’s business style.¹⁸

Nunn also employed an effective strategy of buying out local power-

¹⁶ “UPLC,” 246-248; [C. G. Adney], “Hidden Tales of Bear River Valley [Utah],” n.d., (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 4, Folder 47; “The Telluride Power Company: General Physical Report,” January 11, 1911, p. 55 (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 5, Folder 5.

¹⁷ Sweeting, *Telluride*, 184; *Ogden Daily Herald*, September 6, 1883, in *A History-Utah Power & Light Company* (Salt Lake City: Utah Power and Light Company, n.d.), PAM 19994, Utah State Historical Society, 2.

¹⁸ “UPLC,” 234; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 2, 1941, Biographical Clipping File, Utah State Historical Society; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., Publishers, 1904), 4: 518; “L. N. Holbrook,” February 18, 1941 (typescript), [U.S.] Public Works Administration (Utah Section) Biographical Papers, MSS B289, Box 5, Utah State Historical Society.



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making companies, closing their typically antiquated power plants, and then providing their customers with cheaper Telluride Company electricity. In Eureka, where Nunn's nemesis, industrialist Jesse Knight, had controlled the town's electrical marketplace, Nunn's buyout strategy was successful.¹⁹ Elsewhere this strategy proved to be more difficult. In Logan, the city generated its own electricity from hydro-power works the city had bought earlier from Cache County entrepreneurs. Logan's public power was costly, and service was generally irregular. Yet, Logan officials refused to purchase any of the cheaper electricity that the Telluride Company generated at its works near the town. The city fathers closed ranks against what they deemed as an unwanted "outsider."²⁰ Subsequently, Logan electricity consumers rebelled against such conditions and many of the city's old admirers of public power joined the rebellion. Waiting until this tempest flared so hotly, the Nunn-backed Hercules Power Company exploited the discontent and finally lured away enough of the city's electricity users that the Hercules Company could supplant the municipal owned power company.²¹

The Telluride Power Plant at the Jordan Narrows, c. 1910.

By 1906, Nunn valued his northern Utah assets at about two million dollars.²² During the next four years he cut a wider swath across the region,

¹⁹ "UPLC," 27, 240.

²⁰ F. Ross Peterson, *A History of Cache County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Cache County Commission, 1997), 180.

²¹ "UPLC," 11-12, 142-58; A. D. Smith "Historical Report," September 28, 1939, p.13 (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 5, Folder 6.

²² "The Telluride Power Company, Provo Office: Balance," December 31, 1906, (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 4, Folder 23.



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extending his power company's supply of electricity beyond the region's mining and industrial arenas. Yet some of the older pioneer producers of electricity were successful in warding off Telluride Company's efforts to absorb them. Some of Nunn's rivals became stronger acquiring weaker power companies that Nunn failed to acquire. These rivals took advantage of these smaller power producers' inept management, inadequate equipment and capitalization, and other shortcomings and followed Nunn's model in acquiring these poorly operated power companies.²³

While Nunn was expanding his efforts in northern Utah, he was also extending his operations into southwestern Utah. Here, consumers of electricity had become disillusioned with older technologies for obtaining electricity from unreliable steam systems powered by wood and coal burning. In the Beaver Creek drainage in the Tushar Mountains in Beaver County, Nunn's agents located several desirable hydropower-making sites. Albeit relatively small streams, they provided a remarkably constant flow of water.²⁴

To exploit this resource, Nunn organized the Beaver River Power Company in 1890, a corporation that he owned exclusively until his death in 1925. Beaver River Power soon became the primary supplier of electric-

Murray Power Plant construction workers.

²³ "UPLC," 23-41, 46; Haycock, "Electric Power Comes to Utah," 181; A. L. Woodhouse, "Personal Experiences [sic] in the Telluride Power Company," August 23, 1939, p. 25 (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 4, Folder 16

²⁴ Sweeting, *Telluride*, 212



ity for the Frisco, Newhouse, Milford, and **Olmstead Power Plant.** other mining districts in western Beaver

County. Nunn's power company also provided electricity to a woolen mill in Beaver and the repair and maintenance shops of the Utah Southern Railroad, and the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad in Milford.²⁵ As in northern Utah, Nunn purchased many of the early producers of electricity in Beaver and adjacent counties: the Richfield Light and Power Company and the Sevier Light, Power, and Milling Company. Within a few short years, Beaver Company services reached mining companies and other industrial customers, municipalities, and townspeople in eight towns in Sevier County where there had been little or no electricity available.²⁶

By 1911, Nunn extended his power grid to the poorly served customers in Gunnison and in Sevier County.²⁷ South of Beaver County, Nunn provided electricity to Iron and Washington counties, before selling his properties there to one of his "boys," Albert Woodhouse, founder of the

²⁵ L. L. Nunn to Telluride Association, July 29, 1909, Nunn Papers, Box 6, Folder 1; Martha Sonntag Bradley, *A History of Beaver County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Beaver County Commission, 1999), 193-95; "Electrifying Utah--Engineer Lucien Nunn," Utah History To Go. http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/statehood_and_the_progressive_era/electrifyingutah.html (accessed June 28, 2006).

²⁶ H. E. Diehl to L. L. Nunn, May 4, 1911, Nunn Papers, Box 1, Folder 5; "The Beaver River Power Company Engineering Report, 1908, by the Telluride Institute," n. p., MIC A-335, Utah State Historical Society, hereafter cited as "Beaver River Power Company"; Linda King Newell, *A History of Piute County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Piute County Commission, 1999), 206; M. Guy Bishop, *A History of Sevier County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Sevier County Commission, 1997), 138.

²⁷ "Beaver River Power Company," n. p.; Sweeting, *Telluride*, 218, 219.



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Dixie Company. Woodhouse earlier was superintendent of the Telluride Company's operations in northern Utah.²⁸ In short, as one historian wrote later, Nunn would "electrify much of southern Utah."²⁹

Besides expanding cheap and reliable electricity in southern Utah, Nunn's biggest plans called for his Telluride Company to sell electricity to railroad tycoon Edward Harriman should he decide to electrify his so-called Harriman System. Harriman had just created his western railroad empire by uniting the Union Pacific Railroad with several other western transcontinentals and lesser interstate railroads in Utah and other nearby states.³⁰ Reportedly, Harriman would first electrify the Ogden-San Francisco, San Francisco-Los Angeles, and Los Angeles-Ogden segments of his system.³¹

To gain a slice of this prospective business, Nunn schemed to eliminate his probable competitor, the General Electric Company, an eastern giant formed from merging Thomas Edison's pioneering corporation and several others in 1892. First, Nunn's tactic was threatening to compete against the General Electric Company by providing electricity to the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Pacific Railroad Company (CMSPP) rail lines in Montana and northern Idaho when it electrified its lines. Nunn's challenge was credible because he controlled a hydropower plant on the Madison River in Montana, which would provide extra electricity required for the CMSPP. Nunn's plans led to intense bargaining from General Electric. After

²⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 1, 1946, Biographical Clipping File, Utah State Historical Society.

²⁹ Newell, *Piute County*, 206.

³⁰ Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: The Rebirth, 1894-1969* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 101-42.

³¹ A. L. Woodhouse, "Off the Record," n.d., (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 8, Folder 12.

much haggling, the two camps agreed to divide the new railroad electrification business. In this bargain, Nunn's Telluride organization agreed it would not transact business with the CMSPP provided the other side would also not supply electricity to the Harriman System that the Telluride Company could supply.³² Nunn believed that in the short term his power company would be able to provide the Harriman System with its electrical needs, but in the near



Olmstead Power Plant.

future he would need additional hydro-electric generating capacity. To supply the needed hydro-electric generating capacity, Nunn's engineers devised a plan that would draw water from Bear Lake into the Bear River and run the water through the company's Bear River power plants. This plan was later shelved when the Harriman System decided not to use Nunn's electricity. However, Nunn's blueprint would be implemented after 1912 when another producer of electricity, the Utah Power and Light Company, needed to generate more electricity in the Bear Lake region.³³ Besides utilizing Bear Lake water to produce more electricity for the Harriman System, Nunn planned at first to satisfy some of the Harriman System's requirements by generating electricity from the waterfalls along the Snake River in south-central Idaho. Generating electricity there could be increased significantly. However, Nunn veered away from such a course because of existing monopoly-minded enterprisers already at these places. The most formidable of these were Pennsylvania bankers James and William Kuhn, owners of the Great Shoshone and Twin Falls Power Company. The Kuhns had recently boasted that they would dominate hydropower production on the Snake River in order to electrify southern Idaho's railroads, industries, provide electricity for water-pumping at irrigated farms, and supply electricity for all of the towns in the region.³⁴

³² Sweeting, *Telluride*, 198–201. Eventually, CMSPP electrified its line stretching from Harlowton, Montana, to Avery, Idaho. See Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press/Boise: Idaho State Historical Society, 1994), 1:334.

³³ McCarthy, *Last Chance Canal Company*, 53–67; Sweeting, *Telluride*, 208–10.

³⁴ *Twin Falls (Idaho) News*, September 18, 1908, 12; *Twin Falls Times-News*, June 7, 1971, A-18.



***Cobble rock house at Olmstead
Power Plant, July 12, 1906.***

Forced to look elsewhere, Nunn selected the Malad River, a tributary of the Snake, for his power-making venture. Here, the Kuhns claimed no first-in-time water rights. Nunn, as well as his successors, also valued this stream for producing hydropower because of its “practically constant” flow of water.³⁵

In 1908, Nunn took possession of one-thousand cubic feet per second (c.f.s.) of Malad River water for his new corporation, the Malad River Power Company. Nunn first envisioned generating electricity for the anticipated Harriman System and when after the death of Harriman in 1909 the new Harriman Directorate decided not to electrify its lines, Nunn turned to making an immediate profit by using about one-third of his new water asset to generate electricity for the new arid-land reclamation project nearby. For this purpose, he formed a joint-venture partnership with Charles Hammett, an oil industry pioneer in Oklahoma, who expected to become even richer in Idaho. The two partners launched the 27,200-acre King Hill irrigation project to which Nunn permanently assigned three hundred c.f.s. of his water asset.³⁶ It soon became apparent that Nunn would gain nothing from this venture, and, in fact, both Nunn and Hammett lost all of their own investments and prospective profits from the irrigation project.³⁷

Nunn still owned seven hundred c.f.s. of Malad River water which he had yet to gain any profit. He then decided to transfer this water asset in 1911 to his Beaver River Power Company to supply water to a small hydro-electric power plant being built on the Malad River.³⁸

³⁵ [G. B. Archibald], “General Report on the Kings Hill. . .Project in Idaho. . .,” [1914?], 65–66, Project Histories and Reports of Reclamation Bureau Projects, Record Group 115, Microcopy 96, Roll 61, National Archives; “Malad Power Plant Has Many Interesting Features,” *Elektrikat* [Boise, ID], Vol. 1 (1920): 5.

³⁶ C. H. Hammett to W. M. Wayman, February 11, 1911; John D. Hibbard to Wayman, May 9, 1911, King Hill Extension Irrigation Company Papers, Collection MS 8 (unprocessed), Idaho State Historical Society, Boise.

³⁷ Mikel H. Williams, *The History of Development and Current Status of the Carey Act in Idaho* (Boise: Idaho Department of Reclamation, 1970), 47–50.

³⁸ W. M. Wayman to L. L. Nunn, February 2, 11, 1911; L. L. Nunn to Wayman, February 5, 1911, King Hill Extension Irrigation Company Papers; Sweeting, *Telluride*, 212.

Meanwhile in 1902, Nunn entered into an agreement with Utah Light and Power, controlled principally by LDS church men, to share in the profits of providing electricity to the Bingham Mining Company, beginning in 1906. A year later, however, the anticipated shared profits were stunted when the nation faced an economic recession, which hit particularly hard Utah's mining sector and the Bingham Mining Company, one of Nunn's best customers. For Nunn, besides losing a big railroad market followed by a national economic crisis, his Telluride Company's growth reached a plateau in northern Utah and the company would no longer dominate existing commercial, municipal, and residential markets.³⁹

Yet with this uncertainty, Nunn remained hopeful that the mining industry and the economy would rebound and that other industries in northern Utah coupled with a growing population would need more electricity. Nunn's optimism was based on a report by the president of the Manufacturers Association of Utah who stated that Salt Lake City and Ogden were becoming big "jobbing centers" that would serve retail and wholesale outlets in several states. To meet this anticipated demand, Nunn undertook to increase the production of hydropower by taking advantage of his assets at Bear Lake and enlarging them, a costly plan.⁴⁰ Nunn expected this growth to create many new opportunities to sell Telluride Company electricity.

Nunn also recognized that Utahns were demanding more electricity in order to operate their small electrical appliances in commercial and residential venues. Local newspaper advertisements touted these new appliances. For example, the electric stove, the "El Grilstovo," was marketed as being ideal for all "cooking operations;" another electric stove eliminated "smoke and ashes" from kitchens; and a third supplier trumpeted "electric range[s] for every kitchen and every purse."⁴¹ Other advertisements called for electrically-run furnaces to heat businesses and homes that would replace wood and coal stoves and furnaces, greatly reducing cinders and sooty residues that blackened everything. Nonetheless, Nunn came to the conclusion that the "higher use of energy" dictated that electricity would turn the wheels of industry, light up businesses and homes, and perhaps pump water to farms.⁴²

After considering the potential for additional electricity needs, Nunn concluded that it was better to put all of northern Utah's electrical eggs in one basket and incorporate his Telluride Company in western Colorado

³⁹ W. L. Biersach to Charles D. Walcott, October 28, 1914 (copy), Nunn Papers, Box 1, Folder 24.

⁴⁰ For such developments, see: "UPLC," 156-85; Richard D. Poll et al, *Utah's History* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1978), 442; Preston G. Peterson, "The Latent Resources of Utah," *The New West Magazine* [Salt Lake City], 12 (March-April 1921): 8-9; and George McAllister, "The Development of the New West," *The New West Magazine* 6 (September-October 1915):17.

⁴¹ Advertisement reprint, *Idaho Yesterdays* 34 (Spring 1990), back cover; *The New West Magazine* 6 (March-April 1915): 79; and 9 (October 1918):1.

⁴² "Case No. F-40, Case No. F-48," November 7, 1914 (typescript), Orders Book, Vol. 1, 195, Idaho Public Utility Commission Records, Idaho State Archives, Boise, hereafter cited IPUC Records.

with the Utah-Idaho holdings. In this way, he reasoned, Utah's commercial and industrial needs for more electricity could best be financed. Nunn, however, was now doubtful that he could establish such a power network on his own but that it would take others, including his strongest competitor, the Knight Power Company, to form a monopoly that would accomplish what he "was unable to complete" for the "benefit of mankind."⁴³ Further, forming a power monopoly now seemed feasible after the wave of "trust busting" before the 1910s was nearing its end.

Accordingly, he presented his commercial ideas to the Electric Bond and Share Company (EBASCO), a New York-based holding company with access to plenty of sources of investment capital. Nunn's proposal for monopolization in the electrical industry appealed to many EBASCO interests, notably to insiders Stanley Mitchell and Dwight Morrow, who manipulated EBASCO affairs so that this holding company advanced enough money that its new subsidiary--a reorganized Utah Power and Light Company--could buy out most of the Telluride Company's northern Utah, eastern Idaho, and western Colorado assets and properties and blend them with regional establishments that had thwarted Nunn for a long time. Mitchell and Morrow's plan succeeded. Nunn accepted \$1,750,000 for his Telluride properties. In a whirlwind campaign, the Utah Power and Light Company also took control of most of the producers of electricity that had eluded Nunn's grasp.⁴⁴ By 1914, EBASCO's subsidiary operated twenty-one power making plants in Utah and nine in Idaho, supplying electricity to eighty-five towns in Utah and twenty-eight in ten southeastern Idaho counties.⁴⁵ According to one Salt Lake City journalist, EBASCO's new corporation had mostly eliminated Utah's old-time companies that had provided only "costly and unstable forms of [electrical] power."⁴⁶

After divesting his properties in northern Utah and eastern Idaho as well as his Colorado and Montana holdings, all that remained was his Beaver Power Company holdings in southern Utah, a Malad River hydropower plant in southwestern Idaho, and properties in Casper, Wyoming. His Beaver River Power Company he rechristened the Telluride Power Company in 1917 with its headquarters in Richfield. He upgraded the company's hydropower plants and extended its transmission lines to more towns in Beaver, Piute, Sevier, and Sanpete Counties. The company valued its assets at slightly more than \$1,347,000 in 1915.⁴⁷

⁴³ L. L. Nunn to Stanley Z. Mitchell, n.d., cited in Bailey, *Nunn*, 94.

⁴⁴ J. A. Nutt to L. L. Nunn, November 8, 1912, Nunn Papers, Box 10, Folder 9; "Settlement Documents" File, Nunn Papers, Box 10, Folder 14; John S. McCormick, "The Beginning of Modern Electric Power Service in Utah, 1912-22," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Winter 1988): 8-9; "UPLC," 48-55, 334, 359-74.

⁴⁵ "Annual Report of the Utah Power and Light Company, 1913-1914," n. p. (typescript), IPUC Records, Box AR 38-1, Microfilm Roll 5.

⁴⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 4, 1914, cited in "UPLC," 336.

⁴⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 1, 1915, March 30, 1916, clippings in Nunn Papers, Box 2, Folder 23; "The Beaver River Power Company: Balance Sheet as of October 20, 1915," n.d. (typescript), Nunn Papers, Box 1, Folder 24.

However, this new Telluride operation lost ground to the Utah Power and Light Company over the longer haul. By 1952, the latter had wrested control of the Telluride Company's main power plants in Beaver County and reduced Telluride's "Area" to a sector centered at Nephi, Delta, and Fillmore.⁴⁸ Six years later, Utah Power and Light Company absorbed these Telluride remnants.⁴⁹



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The L. L. Nunn home in Provo.

Meanwhile, Nunn fought vigorously but unsuccessfully to expand his Beaver Company realm in western Idaho. With hydropower generated at the Malad River facility run by his Beaver Company, he attempted to monopolize the electricity market in towns and farms in nine western Idaho counties. Here, the Beaver Company intruded especially at the expense of the Great Shoshone and Twin Falls Power Company. Several other power companies were also victimized. At almost a dozen towns, where the Beaver Company's transmission lines ran parallel to its competitors' wires, Nunn snared many residential, industrial, and commercial customers by offering them cheaper electricity. Also, he contracted to supply power for the electrically-run pumps of Gem Irrigation District farmers.

Nunn's competitors fought back. Their employees often scuffled with Nunn's personnel, each side harassing the other; acts of sabotage toward offices and outdoors wiring also occurred.⁵⁰ In short, Nunn's price-cutting strategy gained him more customers, but his competition was able to keep a significant part of their old clientele, thus blocking him from the marketplace hegemony that he sought in western Idaho.

Nunn also tried to dominate the electricity market in Pocatello by installing three "industrial oil combustion engine[s]" to generate electricity in lieu of producing hydropower. He lost this fight when the Idaho Public Utilities Commission denied him a Certificate of Necessity and

⁴⁸ "Beaver River Power Company," n. p.; *Annual Report: 40 Years of Progress* (Salt Lake City: Utah Power and Light Company, 1952), 8-9, PAM 2354, Utah State Historical Society; "Electrifying Utah--Engineer Lucien L. Nunn," n. p.

⁴⁹ Richfield (Utah) *Reaper*, May 8, 1958, 1; *Utah Power and Light Company 1958 Annual Report* (Salt Lake City: Utah Power and Light Company, 1958), 3.

⁵⁰ Idaho Power Company, *A History of the Development of the Electric Industry in Southern Idaho and Eastern Oregon, 1887-1943*. . . (N.P.: n.p., 1943), 33-39; Susan M. Stacy, *Legacy of Light: A History of the Idaho Power Company* (Boise: Idaho Power Company, 1991), 29-30.

Convenience to operate in Pocatello.⁵¹ Nunn lost more fights with the Great Shoshone and Twin Falls Power Company and several other companies as a result of the Utilities Commission ruling against him. Even the Utah Power and Light Company entered the fray in 1915.⁵² Eventually, the Utilities Commission allowed the Utah organization to sell its electricity at many additional localities in southeastern Idaho.

Unable to achieve his ends anywhere in Idaho, Nunn sold his Beaver Company properties in the state to EBASCO in 1915. Like its monopolistic practices in Utah, EBASCO welded most of western and central Idaho's electric companies into a single unit known today as the Idaho Power Company. Even with this new arrangement, Utah Power and Light Company continued its dominant position in nearly all of southeastern Idaho.⁵³

Despite his many commercial setbacks, Nunn did establish particularly solid institutions in Utah; in fact, the properties of his old Telluride Power Company comprised the core of EBASCO's grander electrical enterprise in Utah after 1912.⁵⁴ What Nunn established in Utah was one of his monuments for all time. His admirers believed that this privileged Eastern-born and Harvard College-educated enterpriser had heeded the "call of the [American] west" to become a "Pioneer Builder" and one shaper of Utah's commercial destiny.⁵⁵ Moreover, Nunn had clearly been a "missionary" in Utah's new "Electricity Age" by operating at the cutting edge of the era's science, engineering, and commerce. His engineers contrived lots of gadgetry for industrial technologies so that electricity could be transmitted cheaply and efficiently over long distances. Nunn left few stones unturned to exploit these advances commercially. In other words, his realm in Utah exemplified what observers had predicted would happen after 1900—commercially and industrially, the West would expand rapidly.

As an important player in Utah's new "Electrical Age," Nunn also demonstrated the commercial worth of combining industrial efficiency and imaginative corporate organizations with technological innovation and effective marketing techniques. At Nunn's hands, Utah people encountered another instance of modern industrial capitalism impacting their state's

⁵¹ Minutes, November 9, 1914, Minutes Book, Vol. 1, 134, IPUC Records; Stacy, *Legacy of Light*, 39.

⁵² Minutes, April 14, 1915, Minutes Book, Vol. 1, 134, IPUC Records.

⁵³ "Annual Report of the Beaver River Power and Light Company, June 30, 1914 to June 30, 1915," n.d. (typescript), IPUC Records, Box AR 38-1, Microfilm Roll 2; Sidney Alexander Mitchell, S. Z. Mitchell and the Electrical Industry (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1960), 95-97; "Annual Report of the Utah Power and Light Company, 1914-1915," n.d. (typescript), IPUC Records, Box AR 38-1, Microfilm Roll 5.

⁵⁴ L. L. Nunn to Utah Power and Light Company and Telluride Power Company, April 10, 1913, Nunn Papers, Box 10, Folder 10; "UPLC," 13-14.

⁵⁵ *Deseret News*, April 3, 1925; *Ogden Standard*, February 20, 1915, cited in *A History-Utah Power and Light Company*, 15; *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 9, 1958; *The Voice of Sharon* (Provo), August 6, 1936, 5; Adam S. Bennion, "History of the Utah Power and Light Company & Affiliated Companies," *Circuit*, 5 (October 1940), 9.



industries and molding their economy. At the same time, Nunn encouraged the commercial exploitation of southeastern Idaho's hydro-power resources and markets and helped to connect that region's economy more closely to northern Utah's commerce and industry.

Quarters building at Olmstead Power Plant, July 12, 1906.

Although some critics of Nunn's realm-building activities said that they had ended ingloriously, other commentators have subsequently sung his praise. Some hailed his achievements more as an educator than as an entrepreneur.⁵⁶ However, this claim awaits better historical scrutiny of his new educational system. Removing himself from further involvement in producing and distributing electricity, Nunn turned his energy and financial resources to establishing unique educational institutions in which to train people for the electrical industry. The new institutions included the Telluride Association with its own housing for such students at Cornell University, a similar organization in California, and several small western schools with curricula and educational methods that Nunn had already pioneered at his Olmstead facilities near Provo.⁵⁷

Nunn's life philosophy centered around two goals: provide cheap and dependable electricity through a monopolistic unit such as his Telluride Company; and educate prospective electrical engineers and train industrial technicians.

⁵⁶ For instance, see Robert B. Aird, *Deep Springs: Its Founder [Nunn], History and Philosophy, with Personal Reflections* (Dyer, NV: Deep Springs College, 1997), 26–28; Sweeting, *Telluride*, 236–63; “Telluride” Folder, George Lincoln Burr Papers, Collection 14-722-22, Box 27, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library

⁵⁷ Aird, *Deep Springs*, 26–28.



A History of Memory Grove

By WILLIAM G. LOVE

Parks are volatile places. They tend to run to extremes of popularity and unpopularity. Their behavior is far from simple. They can be delightful features of city districts, and economic assets to their surroundings as well, but pitifully few are. They can grow more beloved and valuable with the years, but pitifully few show this staying power.¹

As one of Utah's most enduring city parks, Salt Lake City's Memory Grove has never strayed far from urban planner and activist Jane Jacobs's ideals. Its 1924 inception as a war memorial spawned a long tradition of support and involvement by private, civil, fraternal, military, and political organizations, and its evolution over the span of five generations reflects Utah's changing values along with her participation in world events.

After eight decades as a city landmark, the park's continued success begs analogies to nature versus nurture. Should a period tribute expect perpetual reverence? Can a labor of love remain viable after its founders pass from living memory, or must changes in theme follow changes in stewardship? What, if any, is the community's stake in its survival? Complex questions, to be sure, but the answers to these and others may be found by examining the park's diverse history along with the motivations of its many supporters.

Memory Grove sits at the mouth of City Creek Canyon, which has long played a role in Salt Lake City's history. When the Mormon pioneers reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, they camped within the park's

***The Entrance to Memory Grove,
c. 1930***

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¹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 89.



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current boundaries, and for the remainder of the century the canyon's resources proved crucial to the establishment of a permanent community. Those early settlers, and the many who came after, used the canyon's timber and stone to build homes and businesses and harnessed the creek for culinary and irrigation use. The upper part of the canyon also hosted various water-powered endeavors between 1850 and 1880, including Utah's first flour and saw mills, an experimental silk mill, and a road construction company.² In early 1884, Scottish immigrant Robert R. Anderson built one of Utah's earliest for-profit tourist attractions, the Anderson Tower, on the canyon's southeast rim, but as the valley view was not appreciably better from the top than the base it fell into disuse and disrepair and was ultimately demolished in 1932.³

***City Creek Canyon with
Anderson's Tower on the east
side of the canyon.***

As the Salt Lake settlement became a bona fide city, its residents found less and less use for City Creek Canyon, and by the time the city incorporated the land in 1902, most of the industries had either relocated to the valley or closed down altogether. Over the next eighteen years, the canyon saw use as a rock climbing area, an informal Avenues neighborhood garbage dump, and even a landfill for some of the dirt displaced during construction of the state capitol, but despite a 1914 city funding allocation for a proposed "City Creek Park," the canyon remained undeveloped as America entered the First World War in 1917.⁴

During the war, a number of organizations provided for the welfare of

² Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, "The Early History of City Creek Canyon," 1976.

³ Jack Goodman, *As You Pass By: Architectural Musings on Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 80-82.

⁴ Lisa Thompson, "Renovating Memorial House: The Power of Partnerships," *Utah Preservation* 3 (1999): 45.



millions of allied and American servicemen. The American Red Cross and the American Field Service shipped supplies, vehicles, and personnel to France both before and during direct U. S. involvement, while other local and national concerns served stateside in various

A rock crushing and gravel operation in City Creek Canyon, July 15, 1905. The building that became Memorial House is at lower left.

veteran support positions. One of the latter groups, the War Mothers, designed the Service Star flag for display in homes so entitled, with a red border, a white background, and a single star for each son in service. A blue star indicated military membership, a silver star signified a wound or wounds suffered in combat, and a gold star represented the ultimate sacrifice. Four stars were the maximum number that would fit on each flag; if a fifth son served, a second flag would be added. After the war, the logistical and political need for a unified lobbying and support system drove the various entities to form the Service Star Legion and its ancillary, the American Gold Star Mothers. The Legion received Congressional recognition in 1919, and the War Mothers' Service Star flag became the official Legion symbol.⁵

After the Armistice, the United States faced the grim aftermath of an unprecedented event: never before had so many U.S. troops fought on foreign soil, and their high casualty rate coupled with the era's lengthy transportation times necessitated overseas burial in most cases. Congress established the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) to construct and oversee American cemeteries in Europe, and the Service Star Legion responded in similar fashion by creating the National Memorial Grove in Baltimore, Maryland.⁶ This park, which was the first of its kind, featured forty-eight trees with bronze markers to represent the forty-eight

⁵ Service Star Legion, *The Story of the Service Star Legion* (Salt Lake City: Utah Chapter, Service Star Legion, 1932).

⁶ American Battle Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), 473.

states, five to symbolize our wartime allies, and one each to honor President Woodrow Wilson and American Expeditionary Forces Commander General John J. Pershing. These efforts inspired monument initiatives across the country and became the catalysts for the creation of Memory Grove.⁷

The idea for Memory Grove, or Memory Park as it was initially known, first appeared in official records on April 11, 1920, when the Service Star Legion's Utah Chapter met to discuss the establishment of a local war memorial. The Legion formed the Memory Grove Committee to petition the mayor for thirty acres of City Creek Canyon land, and after several weeks of discussions with city officials, the southernmost twenty acres were ultimately reserved and marked out for development. Boy Scouts, students, and adult volunteers began removing weeds, stones, and garbage, and by the May 20 committee meeting, three hundred small trees had been purchased for planting. This occasion also marked the introduction of Ethel Howard, whose son, Army Captain James F. Austin, was one of only three Utah officers lost in the war. Howard had recently returned from Europe and gave a short presentation describing her tour of the American cemeteries in France; afterward, she received an invitation to join the Gold Star Mothers and later assumed the post of Memory Grove Committee treasurer.⁸

During 1922 and 1923, the committee forged ahead with its plans for the park. The group raised additional funds for landscaping and further tree planting, and in February of 1924 it appointed Howard permanent chair. Utah's 665 lost servicemen were memorialized on a large bronze plaque affixed to a stone wall on the canyon's east side, and several Gold Star Mothers erected personal tributes to their sons in the forms of modest granite markers, trees, and, in Howard's case, a terraced area with a plaque-bearing stone wall and a built-in bench. On June 27, 1924, Memory Park began its mission as "A lasting memorial to the hero dead of Utah."⁹

With the park now established, the Service Star Legion next addressed the need for some form of chapter headquarters. The city offered the use of the 1890s-era P. J. Moran stable, which sat inside Memory Park's western boundary, and the following year, the Legion remodeled the structure into a meeting and event hall with a second floor to accommodate offices and a caretaker's apartment. A lease arrangement authorized chapter occupancy for an annual one dollar fee, and the building's rededication as Memorial House took place on June 13, 1926.¹⁰

The next six years saw the involvement of numerous veterans' organizations in Memory Park's development. Many former servicemen belonged to local unit groups as well as such national associations as the American

⁷ *The Story of the Service Star Legion.*

⁸ Service Star Legion, *Memory Park 1920-1932* (Salt Lake City: Utah Chapter, Service Star Legion, 1932).

⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 13, 1926.

¹⁰ "The Early History of City Creek Canyon."



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Legion, Disabled American Veterans (DAV), and Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW). These entities held commemoration ceremonies in the park on national holidays and also added monuments of their own: on November 1, 1926, the DAV's Argonne Chapter #2 placed a captured German cannon near the inaugural bronze plaque, and in 1927, the Utah National Guard installed the 145th Field Artillery Memorial directly east of Memorial House.¹¹

In 1910, the P.J. Moran Asphalt Plant (in the background) was located on the future site of Memory Grove. The future Memorial House is at upper left.

Even as Memory Park's monuments were taking shape, civic groups were addressing the issues of aesthetics and accessibility. While the park proper was now landscaped and planted and the east side steps connecting it with the Avenues were complete, the west face of the canyon still lacked development as well as an access route to and from Capitol Hill. The Memory Grove Committee still held funds received from the 1925 Utah Legislature, and part of this appropriation ultimately paid for brush removal and landscape work. The construction of the Capitol Hill steps, which consisted of two zigzagging ascensions of concrete and asphalt, also began as a cooperative effort involving the Rotary Club, who provided the funding and design fees; local businesses provided the materials; and inmates from the Utah State Prison in Sugar House provided the labor. Both this project and the Kiwanis Club's City Creek Bridge, which spanned City Creek between the 145th Field Artillery monument and Memorial House, were completed in 1927.¹²

During the first half of the 1930s, Memory Park finally received its finishing touches. On May 30, 1930, city crews installed twin concrete and bronze columns at the park's southern convergence with Canyon Road, and two years later, a bronze-paneled, bowl-topped column and pergola replaced the original memorial plaque. The last dedication of the decade, Gold Star Hill, took place in 1934; unique among the monuments to

¹¹ William Love, *Points of Interest In Memory Grove Park* (Salt Lake City: Memory Grove Foundation, November 1996); and Josef Muench, *Salt Lake City: A Pictorial Study* (New York: Hastings House, 1947), 32.

¹² *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 13, 1926.



Utah's honored dead, this assemblage of modest bronze markers honored the group whose efforts had brought the park into existence.¹³ Memory Park was now ostensibly complete and would stand for the next seven years as a reminder of what was then known as the War To End All Wars.

Construction of a cement dam for a catch basin in City Creek Canyon before the area became Memory Grove.

If the First World War cost the United States dearly, then the defining event of the twentieth century, World War II, cost the country further still. American involvement began much earlier, lasted much longer, and resulted in nearly three times as many casualties. After the war, an upsurge in patriotism again drove the establishment of monuments nationwide, and Memory Park was no exception. In 1946, Mr. and Mrs. Ross Beason, who were among the original cadre of park promoters and whose only son, Ross Jr., had been lost off the Italian coast in 1944, announced their financial support for a memorial to Utah's second generation of wartime dead. The centerpiece, a pink marble chapel featuring ornate bronze doors, stained glass windows, a coffered ceiling and a copper roof, anchored a terrace incorporating two bronze memorial plaques and 298 black granite markers for Utah servicemen with no known graves.¹⁴ A flagpole stood to the north of the terrace for ceremonial and holiday use, while a short chain link fence topped the rear wall to prevent overgrowth.

By the summer of 1948, the Meditation Chapel was complete, and its July 25 dedication remains the park's single most attended event. An estimated ten thousand people rode shuttle buses to the ceremony from downtown Salt Lake City's Temple Square, and a half-mile long military honor guard lined both sides of the road from State Street to the park

¹³Service Star Legion, *The Story of Service Star Legion: Past, Present and Future* (Salt Lake City: Utah Chapter, Service Star Legion, 1951): 23. The whereabouts of the original World War I memorial marker as well as the circumstances surrounding its replacement are unfortunately lost to history.

¹⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 24, 1948.

entryway. Mayor Earl J. Glade and Utah Governor Herbert B. Maw accepted the chapel for the city and state, and local radio stations broadcast the ceremony.¹⁵

Of the many attending dignitaries, the first person to enter the chapel was Gunda Borgstrom of Thatcher, Utah. Among the state's Gold Star Mothers, her losses were the most publicized as well as the most grievous: early in the war, all five of her sons had either enlisted or been drafted into various branches of the service, and only one had survived. Several other Gold Star Mothers then visited the chapel interior, and after a brief dedicatory speech the structure was declared open "not only to those who lost a loved one but to all who are burdened, in sorrow or bewildered."¹⁶

To most outward appearances, the day-to-day operation of Memory Park had long seemed to be a satisfactory partnership between the city, the state and the Service Star Legion, but even as the mayor and governor were pledging their perpetual support at the chapel dedication, political intrigue was lurking in the background. Early in 1948 a Mr. Van Frank, who was then the head of Utah's United Veterans Council, made several attempts to wrest Memorial House's occupation and operation from the Service Star Legion, and when his quest failed on its own merits, Van Frank resorted to misrepresentations and outright fabrications. An account of the Service Star Legion's meeting on March 16, 1948, described his position thusly: "There was a 'burr in the socks' of all the veteran and patriotic organizations which would remain until Service Star turned over its park, house, facilities and assets to the other organizations, or specifically to the United Veterans Council of which he was president."¹⁷

Van Frank knew full well that the groups he presumed to speak for held no such animosity toward the Service Star Legion, that the Legion owned neither Memory Park nor Memorial House, and that Legion resources enjoyed Congressional protection, but in his view, these inconvenient facts were beside the point. In an era when women's contributions were often either discounted or dismissed out of hand, the Legion's twenty-plus years of hard work counted for little when placed beside his organization's occasional input and, perhaps tellingly, its overwhelmingly male membership. When the Legion produced the decades-old lease arrangement, Van Frank sought to invalidate it by alleging all manner of misconduct on the part of the House's paying guests, and when reminded of the Legion's long, harmonious and well-documented relationship with the various veterans groups as well as the fact that the city actually owned and maintained the park, he simply denied knowledge of any such arrangements. To Mayor

¹⁵ Ibid., July 25, 1948; and Earl J. Glade and Herbert B. Maw, wire recording of keynote speech, July 25, 1948. Utah State Archives, Faye Lundquist Collection.

¹⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 26, 1948.

¹⁷ Service Star Legion, *The Story of Memorial House* (Salt Lake City: Utah Chapter, Service Star Legion, 1948), 3-5.



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Glade's credit, Van Frank's blatantly chauvinistic crusade was officially discredited, and the publicity it generated ensured that the general public and especially the veteran population were made more aware of the Legion's contributions. In retaining the use of Memorial House, the Legion also avoided setting a precarious precedent by becoming the first casualty in an entirely different kind of conflict, one where the missions of its chapters nationwide might have been usurped one by one in the names of the very people they had been formed to serve.

This building in City Creek Canyon was converted into the Memorial House—home of the Utah Chapter, Gold Star Mothers.

The following year saw the installation of an allied tribute with the incorporation of a French "40 & 8" railroad boxcar, so named because the type had been used by Allied forces to carry forty men or eight horses during World War I.¹⁸ Two years earlier, the American Friendship Train had crossed the U.S. on a goodwill mission for war-ravaged France, and enough supplies to fill seven hundred rail cars had been gathered and shipped. The grateful French population responded with such generosity that the original order for a single memorabilia filled "40 & 8" car became a full train of forty-nine, with one for each state and the last to be shared between the District of Columbia and the territory of Hawaii. Utah's boxcar arrived on February 18, 1949, its contents were distributed to local museums, and the car's formal dedication in Memory Park took place on September 18 of the same year. This ceremony marked a subtle shift in the park's direction as well as a reconciliation of sorts between the Service Star Legion, who initially opposed the placement on the grounds of thematic incompatibility, and the United Veterans Council, who sponsored the boxcar and requested rather than demanded its inclusion.¹⁹

During the 1950s and early 1960s, the park's modest activity level

¹⁸ The "40 & 8" boxcars dated from the late 1800s and were used to transport American and other Allied troops in France during World War I. The nickname came from the French capacity designation of forty men or eight horses.

¹⁹ Linda Thatcher, "Boxcar in Memory Grove Said 'Merci' from the People of France," *Beehive History* 23 (1997): 26-30.



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***Rotarian Volunteers clearing
vegetation in City Creek Canyon.***

reflected a rare era of stability. A new kind of conflict, the Cold War, raged in silos and situation rooms rather than on beachheads and battlefields, but the secrecy and lack of heavy military casualties endemic to nuclear détente combined

to produce few publicly memorialized events. Less is recorded about the park at this time than at any other in its history; aside from the May 27, 1951, dedication of Harbor Lake by the Salt Lake City Navy Mother's Club and the November 11, 1963, placement of a VFW plaque west of the pergola, anecdotal references to veterans' observations, small horticultural projects and routine city maintenance form the bulk of the meager period accounts.²⁰ Memory Park was content to serve its constituency and mark the passage of time, and while visitors admired its continually changing landscaping and flora many also noticed that some of its monuments were beginning to show their age.

Sometime during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Memory Park became known as Memory Grove Park or simply Memory Grove. Although the alternate name had been proposed and even informally used during the park's planning stages and intermittently in the five decades since, it had until this point remained unofficial. The impetus for the revision remains obscure, but other, less benign changes were easier to explain. The so-called "hippie" subculture, with its disdain for traditional social norms, mores, and especially all things military, had taken over the park, and anecdotal accounts of panhandling, violence and drug use made their way into local lore. With the Austin Memorial overgrown, the Meditation Chapel locked to discourage vandalism, Memorial House beginning to deteriorate, and Harbor Lake littered with garbage, the park seemed to have hit rock bottom. There was only one installation recorded during this time, the

²⁰ *The Story of Service Star Legion*, 21, and William Love, *Points of Interest in Memory Grove Park* (Salt Lake City: Memory Grove Foundation, November 1996), 6.



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November 11, 1975, dedication of a weapons carrier to the memory of Utah's lost Vietnam veterans.²¹ Some longtime observers saw this event as a coda to the park's glory days, but in a manner that would repeat itself over the next few decades, plans were already under-way for Memory Grove's rebirth.

An overview of Memory Grove in the 1930s looking to the southwest with portions of the Utah State Capitol and Memorial House in the far right of the photo.

If the park drew its genesis from the state's involvement in two World Wars, then its first renewal owed much to the birth of our nation. In 1973, the Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission's Horizon Committee began a search for a suitable event venue, and in early 1975 they selected Memory Grove as the rallying point for the state's Bicentennial celebration. The committee, chaired by Faye Lundquist, noted that the park was in disrepair, and on September 21, an event dubbed "Sunday in the Grove" took place to solicit support for a park wide cleanup effort. Many financial contributors, interested groups, and private individuals stepped forward with offers of assistance, and sufficient funds were raised to "get the Memory Grove development off and running."²² Once again, Utahns rallied to the park's cause, and it is fitting that this new generation was present to witness the burial of a Bicentennial time capsule as well as the opening of a similar capsule that the Service Star Legion had buried as part of the 1930 entryway dedication ceremony.²³ Whether anyone realized it or not, the torch had been passed, and the Legion would henceforth play a somewhat lesser role in the park's evolving identity.

The first Bicentennial project, the Perception Garden, was the dream of longtime *Salt Lake Tribune* Garden Editor Genevieve Folsom. This concept

²¹ *Deseret News*, November 12, 1975.

²² Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, "Sunday in the Grove," 1976.

²³ Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, "How You Can Become Involved," 1976.



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involved the creation of a place where visually impaired visitors could touch and enjoy the most fragrant and uniquely configured flora while reading their descriptions in Braille. Adjacent to the Garden, construction also began on a fountain funded by former University of Utah professor Louis Zucker in memory of his wife, Ethel Kaplan Zucker. The tiered design of this edifice enabled it to “sing” as water flowed downward from level to level and added an element of sound to the atmosphere. Aluminum plaques for both projects were created with the latest in etching processes, and their format became the standard for most future applications.

The dome of the Utah State Capitol looms above the walk way up the west side of City Creek Canyon in this 1930s photo of Memory Grove.

Tree plantings reminiscent of the park’s origins also took place during the Bicentennial celebration. Celebrity Grove, whose individual trees honored prominent Americans, beautified the area above the Rotary Steps, and an additional group planting known as the Grove of Service honored nominees from local businesses and organizations.²⁴ Although these projects received Bicentennial funding, the groves were not completed until 1979, and due to various bureaucratic and design difficulties, the Perception Garden and Zucker Fountain remained under construction until October of 1981.²⁵

In much the same way that the Meditation Chapel defined Memory Grove’s past history, the Liberty Bell replica bore the standard for the Bicentennial celebration. During preparations for our nation’s two-hundredth birthday, the creators of the original, England’s Whitechapel

²⁴ Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, “The Garden of Perception,” 1981. Such luminaries as columnist William F. Buckley, composer Aaron Copland, famed dancer Martha Graham, “Roots” author Alex Haley, Utah Governor Scott Matheson, and Supreme Court Justice Byron White participated in their respective dedications.

²⁵ “The Zucker Fountain,” 1981.

Foundry, offered to cast an enormous five-to-one scale bell in friendly recognition of America's independence from her mother country; as the foundry prepared for the job, however, workers found the original Liberty Bell mold buried in the shop floor, and the plan evolved into an offer to cast, at cost, two exact replicas for each state. Brigham Young University's Beta Sigma Phi sorority raised funds for a single example, which arrived in Salt Lake City in early 1976. The ZCMI Mall displayed the



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Winter in Memory Grove.

replica until July 22, when it was incorporated into a float driven in the July 24 Pioneer

Day parade. Afterward, the bell waited in the old ZCMI warehouse while Utah schoolchildren donated five thousand dollars in change to fund a suitable display tower.²⁶ Construction began in September of the following year, and the Liberty Bell Replica and Tower dedication took place in May of 1979. The event included speeches, a ceremonial ringing, and the burial of a second time capsule containing the names of the contributors.²⁷

Bicentennial ceremonies were not the only park events held in 1976. Memory Grove's ongoing and well-publicized renewal recaptured local interest and financial support, and several new memorials saw placement as a result. Harbor Lake received a geyser-type fountain, and a new flagpole in front of the pergola assumed the duties of the now tree-obscured original north of the chapel. Utah's Congressional Medal of Honor winners received a tree and a granite marker, and the state's two surviving recipients attended the ceremony. Also, the Utah League of Families of Prisoners and Missing in Action (MIA) in Southeast Asia placed a plaque near the Austin Memorial honoring those Utah servicemen missing in Vietnam, and the Horizon Committee donated and planted a tree for each of the ten missing men.²⁸ On July 21, 1979, a second plaque was added bearing their names,

²⁶ Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, "The Liberty Bell," 1979.

²⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 26, 1979.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, November 12, 1976. The missing servicemen were USMC Gunnery Sgt. John Dingwall; USMC 1st Lt. Mike Christensen; USAF 1st Lt. Clive G. Jeffs and 1st Lt. Bruce C. Walker; USAF Capt. Franklin A. Caras, Capt. Robert A. Rex, Capt. Richard H. Van Dyke, Capt. Don C. Wood; USMC Capt. James Chipman, and USAF Col. Mark L. Stephensen.



ranks, branches of service, and MIA dates.²⁹ **145th Field Artillery Memorial.**

The Bicentennial Horizon Committee's work was now officially finished, but it was not formally dissolved until funding ran out in 1987.

As its monuments have reflected the lives of the local population, so has Memory Grove shared its difficulties with nature. Chronic soil and irrigation problems plagued Celebrity Grove, and within two years of planting all of the trees had succumbed. Then, in 1983, massive spring runoff overwhelmed City Creek Canyon, and floodwater roared through the park. Memory Grove suffered water damage in ways that almost defied description: Gold Star Hill and the Harbor Lake fountain disappeared beneath several inches of mud and loose gravel; the lake itself rose to inundate the low lying areas when branches and debris clogged the creek route; the Grove of Service and Medal of Honor tree were washed away; and the earth around the west entryway column liquefied and sank, causing the structure to tilt and then explode in a shower of debris when disturbed by a piece of heavy equipment brought in to brace its movement. The cleanup went well, and the column was replaced five years later, but the damaged foliage would bear witness to the event for years to come. In 1984, the Freedom Trail hiking path was dedicated to the spirit of volunteerism that prevailed during the disaster, and Memory Grove now had a memorial to its own endurance. The following year, the park's mission resumed with the placement of a memorial by the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association.³⁰

The year 1986 marked the end of an era for the park and its longtime champions when, after a half century of stewardship, the Service Star Legion

²⁹ Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, "Missing in Action-Prisoners of War," 1979.

³⁰ Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, "History of Memory Grove Since 1974," 1987; *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 4, 1991.

vacated Memorial House. Declining chapter size and the advancing ages of its surviving members made continued occupancy impractical, and the city closed the building until a suitable tenant could be found. It remained empty for several years, and time and the elements were less than kind, but as it has always been with the park, rescue was just around the corner.

In 1990, the city formed the Memory Grove Oversight Committee to explore park upgrading and future use issues, and as Memorial House was a park fixture and a monument in its own right, halting its deterioration became integral to revitalization plans. Several interested parties came forward with renovation bids, but all were for-profit entities whose need to recover costs involved the type of multi-year lease requirements that were prohibited by city policy. Then, in May of 1993, Utah Heritage Foundation's (UHF) annual Historic Homes Tour showcased the still-vacant building, and from this exposure grew the idea for a city-foundation partnership. As a non-profit organization, UHF was able to garner deductible renovation funds from businesses, foundations, and private donors, and while the city restored the building's exterior, UHF renovated its interior in exchange for a cost-free lease arrangement. Today, Memorial House serves as UHF headquarters, and the reception center once again hosts a myriad of local events.

Another issue addressed was park security, or, rather, the lack thereof. Memory Grove had become a nocturnal social hub for teens, and the constant traffic flow in and out of the park concerned Canyon Road residents. The solution, an electric gate, successfully balanced park access with safety concerns, and traffic decreased to a safe level. During regular business hours, a call box and keypad presently regulate entry, and a contract security officer performs the same function during heavily attended events.³¹

While most of the park's memorials are the legacies of interest groups,



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A captured German artillery piece from World War I placed in Memory Grove, November 1, 1926, by the Disabled American Veterans.

³¹ Lisa Thompson, "Renovating Memorial House-The Power of Partnerships," Utah Preservation 3 (1999): 47-48.



PHOTO COURTESY OF WILLIAM G. LOVE

veterans' organizations or committee efforts, a singular exception, the Beam Memorial Bench, must also be mentioned. In November of 1993, World War II Navy veteran Charles "Red" Beam purchased a sandstone bench and coordinated with the city parks department to have it placed in front of the Meditation Chapel, with a plaque affixed bearing the words "In memory of 42 brave sailors who followed me to their death." As a twenty-year-old boatswain's mate, Beam had been involved in a particularly tragic wartime incident: after his unit commander had been hospitalized, Beam had been placed in command, and forty of his group's forty-three men had perished when their landing craft had taken a mortar hit as he and the other two men swam to shore to help guide the landing. The two men died in action on the beach, and Beam was the sole survivor.³²

The renovated Gold Star Hill, rededicated in 1999.

Three years after Beam's private effort, a park visit by California banker Murray Hiatt opened the next chapter in the Memory Grove saga. A former Salt Lake City resident, Hiatt returned early that year to find the chapel still padlocked and his brother's chapel marker overgrown, and his disappointment led to a series of news stories that served as a recruiting drive for the present-day Memory Grove Foundation.³³ The generosity of local donors, the city parks department, and the Utah State Legislature

³² *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 2, 1993.

³³ *Deseret News*, July 24–25, 1997. Membership included Chairman Murray Hiatt; Bicentennial Horizon Committee Chair and Co-Chair Faye Lundquist and Bettie Bogarte; locally and nationally known veterans' advocate Ben Russo; longtime canyon residents Jane Erickson and John Jansen; U. S. Army National Guard Col. Bart Davis; and unofficial park historian William Love.



PHOTO COURTESY OF WILLIAM G. LOVE

quickly met the Foundation's restoration cost estimate, and the work of restoring the chapel and grounds began in earnest. Powell

Brothers and Son Glass Art of Salt Lake City restored the stained glass windows, which had been vandalized years earlier, and replaced the original outer screening with shatter-resistant panels of tempered UV-barrier glass; a volunteer contractor polished and sealed the marble floor, which was scratched and worn through years of foot traffic and cracked to rubble in spots due to water entry and subsequent freezing; the city parks department rearranged and reset the black granite markers, with several added for lost Utah servicemen whose stones had either been damaged over the years or omitted in the original dedication; and U. S. Navy Seabees steam cleaned the building and reset the flagstones around the terrace, which had loosened and shifted with age. The chapel's formal rededication took place on November 11, 1998, and the following year, the Memory Grove Foundation received a UHF Heritage award for its efforts.³⁴

In early 1999, Memory Grove's original stewards were once again honored with the dedication of a new, amphitheater-style Gold Star Mothers monument north of Memorial House. U.S. Army minesweepers located the original bronze markers, which had been buried in the 1983 flood, and city crews excavated them and placed them in their new location. Finally, a solid bowl replaced the original hollow example that had topped the World War I Memorial column until decades of freezing and

³⁴ Jane Erickson, "Restored Meditation Chapel Rededicated To Original Purpose," *The Utah Heritage Foundation Newsletter* 33 No. 1 (1999): 12-13; and Lisa Thompson, "1999 UHF Heritage Awards Honor Excellence in Preservation: Meditation Chapel, SLC," *Utah Heritage Foundation Newsletter* 33 No. 6 (1999): 9-10.



PHOTO COURTESY OF WILLIAM G. LOVE

thawing had caused it to break in two. For the third time in its history, and under a third incarnation of private oversight, the park was once again whole, and the balance of interests represented within spoke to a broader cross section of the local population than ever before.

Less than a year after its second renewal, Memory Grove again fell victim to nature's wrath. A rare tornado swept through the park on August 11, 1999, uprooting dozens of trees, snapping and splintering many others, and depositing debris lifted from its downtown path over half the length of the canyon.³⁵ Despite the severe damage to the park's flora, Memorial House and the monuments escaped unscathed, and the event served as a barometer for public support. The next morning, hundreds of volunteers gathered at the park entryway, gloves and tools in hand, and over the next several days they swarmed through the park, cutting up fallen trees and broken branches and clearing away brush and debris.³⁶ All manner of vehicles, dress and equipment could be seen, and anyone familiar with military history could look upon the massive spectacle and see the lines of a battle joined. During the week of the cleanup, a visitor might drive up Canyon Road and pass rows of police motorcycles, convoys of trucks from every imaginable city and county, islands of trash cans filled with crushed ice and bottled water, anonymous businessmen wearing suits, ties and work gloves, city trailers, FEMA vans, golf carts, news reporters, wheelbarrows, staging tents, portable toilets, and so on. At the top of Capitol Hill, where railroad dump cars from the capitol excavation had once poured tons of dirt into the canyon, dozens of spectators lined the sidewalk and watched as

One of the forty-nine "40 x 8" rail-road box cars given by France to the forty-eight states (plus one shared by the District of Columbia and the Territory of Hawaii) in gratitude for American support during World War I. Placed in Memory Grove on September 18, 1949.

³⁵ John Hughes, *Salt Lake City's Tornado of '99* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1999).

³⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 17, 1999.

their territory was reclaimed once again.

With public attention focused on the restoration effort, the city recognized a rare opportunity to simultaneously address every identifiable park problem, and by the summer of 2002 a “rejuvenated” Memory Grove featured newly restored Capitol Hill steps (again courtesy of the Rotary Club), a new ADA-compliant ramp beside the chapel, new benches and landscaping, and a new lighting system for safer nighttime illumination.³⁷ The city also replaced the aging sprinkler system, which had for years suffered age and root-related problems, and planted new trees to replace some of those lost.

As Memory Grove settled into its newly modernized identity, it bid farewell to several reminders of its storied past. The World War I-era German cannon, which “guarded” the park for over seventy years until it was removed to allow construction of the chapel ramp, was deemed unsafe for reinstallation due to the fragile condition of its weathered wooden wheels, and the Vietnam-era weapons carrier, whose deterioration had become a safety and environmental issue, was removed and placed in storage. At present, plans are pending for transfers to the Fort Douglas Military Museum, which will restore and display the pieces in their collection. The “40 & 8” boxcar, whose century old plank and wrought iron construction had also suffered much over the decades, was relocated to Ogden’s Railroad Museum and meticulously restored by its staff of dedicated volunteers. Several Bicentennial-vintage benches were removed due to age and damage, and the Bell Tower time capsule was unearthed and its documents placed on display for its now-grown contributors to enjoy.³⁸

As is often the case with the passing of traditions, certain groups and individuals protested the loss of the above items from the park. Some saw such actions as tantamount to disrespect or even sacrilege, but in practical terms, the removals were necessary: the specialized skills required for the restoration and conservation of lost technologies lay outside the parks department’s areas of expertise, maintenance and budget concerns precluded the favoring of one monument over another, and the only other alternative, destruction by neglect, was unacceptable on every level. The remaining memorials, including an impressive new Korean War Wall of Honor courtesy of the Utah Korean War Memorial Committee, are of a far more permanent nature, and with the exception of a few wooden bell tower components are all constructed of bronze, stainless steel, concrete, and stone. Expectations are high that the park will continue to retain an element of permanence that will inspire care by future generations.

So why does Memory Grove engender such love and loyalty on the part

³⁷ *Memory Grove Concept Plan* (Salt Lake City: Landmark Design Inc., 1999); Lisbeth Henning, “Memory Grove Renovation Plan In The Works,” *Utah Heritage Foundation Newsletter* 34 No. 1 (2000), 11.

³⁸ *Deseret News*, September 9, 2001.



PHOTO COURTESY OF WILLIAM G. LOVE

of its supporters? What motivates such a broad spectrum of humanity to repeatedly rally to its aid? One answer may lie in the power of personal connection. Despite the debt owed to its timely and enduring Bicentennial legacy, the park is still first and foremost a war memorial, with fully twenty of its twenty-five permanent points of interest dedicated to deceased veterans of past conflicts. Many of the movers and shakers who cared for and about the park over its first six decades were family members who either never visited their loved ones' final resting places or never knew their ultimate fate and as such looked to memorials to fill the void. Although this group has mostly passed into history, many of its descendants still visit the park and work to preserve its monuments and memories. Also, as the crucible of combat forges a brotherhood like no other, surviving veterans who share a cross-generational bond with those who have died still hold memorial services in the park.

Much credit for Memory Grove's success and longevity has additionally been laid at the feet of its institutional supporters, and while the city and state do deserve a large part of the operational and maintenance kudos, it must be remembered that private donations have been the means by which the various projects have actually been funded. A select list of donors would require several pages, and even that would fail to include the names of the many individuals whose identities have been omitted by request. This level

Memory Grove in the aftermath of a tornado that devastated the area on August 11, 1999.

of community involvement speaks to the commitment that separates Memory Grove from other city parks.

War memorials in and of themselves are not eternal. If their purposes and sentiments are not respected, and if they remain static and unheralded as their founders pass from living memory, then all manner of undesirable fates may befall them. As Memory Grove's continued success amply illustrates, none of the above pitfalls apply, and if past efforts are any indication, they likely never will. Times change, generations come and go, but as always, all that is required of those who would pick up the torch of our heritage is affection for our past and the touchstones by which it is remembered. If it is true that a labor of love is something one would gladly do for nothing, then Memory Grove is well loved, indeed.



DON GRANSTON, DESERET MORNING NEWS

“La Voz de los Otros”: An Overview of the Life and Career of Eliud “Pete” Suazo, Utah’s First Hispanic State Senator, 1951–2001

By JORGE IBER

One afternoon in mid-August 2001, Utah State Senator Eliud “Pete” Suazo stopped by Third District Juvenile Court Judge Andrew Valdez’s office to invite his friend to join him on a deer hunt near Joe’s Valley Reservoir in the Manti-La Sal National Forest. The senator, an avid outdoorsman, thought it would be a wonderful way for the two men to spend some time with their kids and enjoy the beauty of Utah’s scenery. The judge declined the offer, not wanting, he joked, to “have to do all of the cooking for the campers.”¹ As they had done many times previously, the two long-time friends said their goodbyes and agreed to speak again upon Suazo’s return to Salt Lake City. Tragically, there would be no more reunions for, as the headlines of the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* attested on the afternoon of Monday, August 20th, Pete Suazo, the only Hispanic then serving in the

Pete Suazo testifying at hate crimes hearing.

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¹ Andrew Valdez, interview by the author, March 16, 2005.

Utah state legislature, had died as a result of an ATV accident while on his way back to camp on Sunday evening.² Understandably, state legislators and government officials were shocked by the death of their colleague. Politicians from both parties offered condolences to the family and universally praised Suazo's life and career. Among Republicans, Governor Michael Leavitt touted his "tireless efforts to improve the lives of youth and minorities in our state"; Attorney General Mark Shurtleff described him as "a voice for the voiceless, a champion of the underdog and a man of honor"; and Utah Senate President Alma Mansell fondly recalled Pete's "honest willingness to resolve issues."³

Fellow Democrats were even more effusive in their acclamations. State Party Chair Meagan Holbrook noted that "Pete was a heroic figure to the Hispanic community and (to) all...who work hard and play by the rules."⁴ U. S. Representative Jim Matheson praised Suazo as a "champion for human rights. Pete's unfaltering commitment to fairness, decency and human dignity was an inspiration to me." Finally, House Minority Leader Dave Jones stated that Utah had lost "one of the great bridge makers, who linked the minority population with the majority...and enabled us to learn about each other."⁵ Clearly, the senator was an important contributor to the Beehive State's government and, in many ways, represented the increasing level of diversity which is now part of life in what had once been one of the "whitest" states in the Union. This essay, then, provides a brief summary of Eliud "Pete" Suazo's life and career and ties his story to the broader, and broadening, tapestry of minority life in the state of Utah.

Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the field of Chicano/a studies became an important part of research within the mosaic of the American West. In general, historians in the specialization sought to challenge the "unflattering roles" and portrayal of "Mexican Americans as field laborers or quaint figures un-accepting of American values and way of life."⁶ While in many ways path-breaking, a widespread trait of early works was that the research focused, almost exclusively, upon the significance and activities of organizations such as unions, mutual aid societies, church groups and other entities as vehicles of resistance to Anglo oppression in the workplace and daily life. The trend became so ingrained that, until

² A word about terminology is appropriate at this point. The terms "Spanish-speaking," "Spanish-speakers," and "Spanish-surnamed" and "Hispanics" will be utilized to refer to the entire community. Finally, the term Chicano/a will be utilized to refer to the community during the years of the Chicano Movement—from the late 1960s through the late 1970s.

³ Greg Burton and Jacob Santini, "ATV Accident Claims Suazo," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 21, 2001.

⁴ Dennis Romboy and Bob Bernick Jr., "Democratic State Senator Pete Suazo Dies in ATV Accident," *Deseret News*, August 20, 2001.

⁵ Burton and Santini, "ATV Accident Claims Suazo."

⁶ Arnoldo De Leon, "Whither Tejano History: Origins, Development, and Status," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 106 (January 2003): 351. Although this article specifically refers to the history of Mexican Americans in the state of Texas, many of the themes presented therein are applicable to the characterization of people of Mexican descent throughout the American West.

recently, “one seldom encountered a book on the life of a prominent” individual of Mexican descent. Fortunately, in the last decade or so, a few historians have commenced rectifying this lacuna with biographies of “entrepreneurs...academicians...(and) political bosses” whose lives impart fresh insights into the Mexican American historical experience.⁷

Historian Thomas Kreneck argues that incorporating biographical studies into the broader study of this population provides focus upon persons who:

...distinguished themselves locally or regionally...such men and women combine elements of the illustrious and the ordinary, and they embody the story of their people. Their presence insures that the history of barrio Americans...does not have to be only the account of faceless laborers, classes, and gender as reflected in the statistics of wages, occupations, and demographics. This is not to denigrate such study, but only to suggest that...the human dimension to Chicano history be reinforced and the individual be given proper credit...⁸

The life of Senator Suazo dovetails quite effectively with such arguments for he lived a life of overcoming barriers and dedicated himself to improving both his hometown and state. His story summarizes and sheds light upon community and personal struggles, obstacles, and opportunities that have characterized the experience of Spanish-surnamed people in Utah and the entire West. His sacrifice, diligence, dedication, and energy make him a role model for all of Utah’s citizenry; truly a person worthy of recognition within the social and political history of the state and the West.

The Suazo family migrated to northern Utah during World War II. His mother, Cecelia, was born in Cuba, New Mexico. During the late 1940s, prior to her marriage, she supervised a maintenance crew at Hill Air Base in Layton. His father, Patricio, was born in Alamosa, Colorado, and worked as a crane operator and labor recruiter for the AFL-CIO in northern Utah.⁹ They were not alone in making this trek as Utah’s economic expansion during the war and post-war years generated a substantial Hispanic migration to Salt Lake City and its suburbs; with a large percentage of those persons hailing from northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Among key employment sectors for Spanish-surnamed men and women during the 1940s through the early 1960s were local military facilities, the transportation sector, extractive industries, food processing, and domestic work.¹⁰ The majority of such (*recien llegados*) newcomers congregated in the multiethnic west side of the capital city or in nearby towns such as Murray, which had sheltered a Mexican presence since the early 1910s.¹¹

⁷ Ibid., 361.

⁸ Thomas Kreneck, *Mexican American Odyssey* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001), 14. This book details the life of Houston restaurant owner and civic activist, Felix Tijerina.

⁹ Becky Suazo, interview with author, May 13, 2005.

¹⁰ Jorge Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912-1999* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000), 55-59.

¹¹ Ibid., 6-17. See also Jorge Iber, “El Diablo Nos Esta Llevando: Utah Hispanics and the Great Depression,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (Spring 1998): 159-77.

During the post-war decades, occupational opportunities afforded some barrio dwellers prospects to better their economic circumstances as wages increased and with access to previously closed jobs and positions. By the early 1950s, many Spanish-surnamed people in Utah believed that, through participating in World War II and Cold War efforts, they had proven themselves as hard working productive employees who had won a measure of respect from other Utahns. Still, appreciation for services rendered did not eliminate all vestiges of discrimination and prejudice.

Eliud “Pete” Suazo was born into this economic and social milieu on June 4, 1951.

He was the first of ten children, eight of whom survived into adulthood. In the late 1950s the Suazos purchased a house and moved to the city’s west side. While by no means comfortable, through hard work and industry, the family eventually purchased a second property from which they derived a small rental income. From an early age, Pete contributed to household finances by selling newspapers, working concessions at Derks Field during baseball games, and catching muskrats near the Jordan River, which he skinned in the family’s basement and then sold the hides.¹²

Suazo’s childhood can be described as happy and seldom touched directly by the more virulent aspects of discrimination, but there were incidents during his youth that helped inculcate him in the social realities of minority life in the Salt Lake City of the 1950s and early 1960s. In the sixth grade, a band teacher at Edison Elementary did not permit Pete to be part of the ensemble because he was a “Mexican.” Further, Becky Suazo noted that she and her brother often fought at school in order to protect their darker-skin siblings from taunting and being called names like “Indian” or “*negrita*” (a derogatory term which translates as “little black girl”).¹³ The Suazo family affiliated with the Assemblies of God denomination, and the children often faced harassment for their religious affiliation from the offspring of their Mormon and Catholic neighbors.¹⁴ In sum, while not having to endure direct segregation and overt racial hostilities



JEFFREY D. ALLRED, DESERET MORNING NEWS

Pete Suazo joking with an unidentified lady in front of the Wallace F. Bennett Federal Building.

¹² Becky Suazo, interview.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ For a broad discussion of the impact of religious affiliation upon Hispanic life in Utah, see Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion*.

Suazo, by the time he finished middle school, sensed that Utah society had destined him to the life of an “outsider,” someone who did not quite “fit in” with the majority society of the city and state.¹⁵ Experiences such as these undoubtedly shaped the political agenda that he embraced and fought for during his legislative career.

During his years at Salt Lake City’s West High School, Pete was an average student. Societal issues did not seem to concern him, instead his foremost area of interest was in being part of the wrestling team; for which he competed at the 103 pound classification.¹⁶ But when he graduated from high school in 1969, it was impossible to totally disregard political events and trends surrounding the Chicano/a Movement even in a predominantly white state such as Utah.

By the late 1960s, the societal ills of the Spanish-speaking population of the Beehive State were, in many ways, not very different from those which Chicanos/as confronted elsewhere. Briefly stated, the denizens of Salt Lake City’s west side and other metropolitan areas of the state such as Ogden were disadvantaged. Compared with whites, a lower percentage earned high school and college degrees. They earned less, worked in less skilled occupations, and had a higher unemployment level than did other segments of Utah’s people.¹⁷ While the Spanish-surnamed in Utah did not endure segregation or the existence of “Mexican” schools, as in Texas, they certainly were not treated as equals. Such trends stimulated the genesis of a group known as the Brown Students Association at West High in late 1967, as well as a broad, community-based civic action entity in Salt Lake City that same year, known as the Spanish-Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity—SOCIO. Both organizations played important roles in Pete Suazo’s future endeavors.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s SOCIO leaders such as Ismael Maez and school teacher Archie Archuleta worked to politicize the youth of the west side of Salt Lake City. In particular, it was Maez’s “stories about Aztecs and conquistadores” and his arguments concerning parental tax support for public schools that began to stir Pete toward social activism.¹⁸

Ultimately, Suazo, who enrolled at University of Utah in 1969, was transformed from a disinterested political and societal bystander into one of the leaders of that institution’s Chicano Student Association (CSA). Among the organization’s activities during his undergraduate years was a call for the creation of a Chicano Studies program, bringing Movimiento speakers to campus, raising awareness of United Farm Worker (UFW) boycotts and

¹⁵ For specific information on segregation and racial hostilities, see Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion*, chapter 5, “‘Second-Rate Citizens’: Utah Hispanics during the Postwar Years, 1946-1967”.

¹⁶ Becky Suazo, interview and Valdez, interview.

¹⁷ Ibid. For specific information on activities of the Chicano Studies program at the University of Utah, see chapter 6, “‘The Advocacy Battle for our People’: Hispanic Activism in Northern Utah, 1968-1986.”

¹⁸ Valdez, interview.

activities, and a push for more scholarship money to bring minority students into the overwhelmingly white population on campus.¹⁹ While the Chicano Studies program was not implemented, the University of Utah's CSA attracted prominent speakers, such as Reies Lopez Tijerina, to Salt Lake City and helped SOCIO in various local campaigns.

The young Suazo also became part of a recruitment team, sponsored by a Ford Foundation grant, which entered the city's west side barrio and aggressively recruited both Mexican American and Native American students. One of the individuals he convinced to attend the University of Utah was his long-time friend Andy Valdez who graduated in 1977 with a law degree. Suazo and other members of the CSA also worked directly with SOCIO to improve conditions in the barrios of Salt Lake City and other places in Utah by confronting such problems as a lack of political representation, high drop out rates, excessive height requirements for the Salt Lake City police department, and the under-representation of Chicano/a educators in local schools.

While pursuing his degree, Suazo married for the first time. The marriage was not without conflict as his father-in-law was not particularly pleased that his daughter had married a "Mexican."²⁰ The marriage produced two children, Travis, born in 1970 and Jake, who died shortly after his birth in 1972. A combination of family tensions and the loss of a child ended the marriage.

In 1973, after earning an undergraduate degree in criminology, Suazo entered law school, but he dropped out after one year. During the next three or four years he worked as a construction laborer in Utah and southern Idaho, eventually accepting a position as manager of an apartment building in Salt Lake City. In the second half of the decade he became more focused concerning his future direction and settled upon the two



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Pete Suazo speaking at a rally in opposition to making English the official language in Utah.

¹⁹ The term "movimiento" refers to the Chicano Movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s which fought to improve the civil rights and educational opportunities of Mexican Americans and other Hispanics throughout the West.

²⁰ Alicia Suazo interview by author, March 29, 2005.

great loves of his life. His first love was Alicia Lopez whom he met in 1973 while she worked on the University of Utah campus and who graduated with a teaching degree in 1979. The couple married in 1978 and had two children Emilio and Julio. In addition, they adopted their nephew Abel, after Pete's sister Deana died in 1993.²¹

By the late 1970s, Suazo's second fundamental driving force became public service. He earned a master's degree in human resource management and economics from the University of Utah in 1978 and was directly involved in numerous causes and organizations in the community. In addition to continuing his affiliation with SOCIO, he participated in local efforts to support UFW strikes and boycotts; campaigned for Rey Florez Jr., whom voters of the Sixth district of Salt Lake County elected in 1978 as the first Chicano to serve in the Utah State House of Representatives; worked to elect Dr. Eugene Garcia, the first Chicano to seek election to the Salt Lake City school board; ran unsuccessfully for a school board position himself in 1979; and served as a convention delegate for U. S. Senator Edward Kennedy in 1980.²²

As a result of his numerous civic and community undertakings, Suazo acquired valuable political capital and experience, earned local notoriety, and forged a close personal and professional alliance with one of Utah's most important and charismatic Spanish-surnamed political figures of the era—John Florez. John, younger brother of Rey Florez, was active with many local groups and organizations. He taught Suazo how to manage a political campaign, tutored him on various get-out-the-vote strategies, and, most importantly, introduced and helped connect his younger colleague to the state's Democratic political machinery.²³ By 1980 such ties had, apparently, placed Suazo in an ideal situation to achieve elected office in his own right; but it was not yet to be.

Three circumstances temporarily sidetracked Pete's aspirations. First, both he and Florez worked for the gubernatorial campaign of Scott Matheson, who was elected Utah's governor in 1976 and reelected in 1980. After Matheson's first triumph, a group of Utah's Hispanic leaders approached the governor seeking political appointments, expanded assistance for the community, and greater access to the corridors of power. Florez and Suazo visited the governor to ask why no members of their community had been appointed to decision-making positions in the government. Purportedly, Matheson responded that he had wanted to hire such individuals, but that he and his staff simply "could not find any qualified Chicanos." According to Florez, this offense by the governor was very distressing for his idealistic colleague.²⁴

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Susan Whitney, "Generations of Change: The Saga of Utah's Florez Family," *Deseret News*, November 15, 1995; and John Florez, interview with author, May 6, 2005.

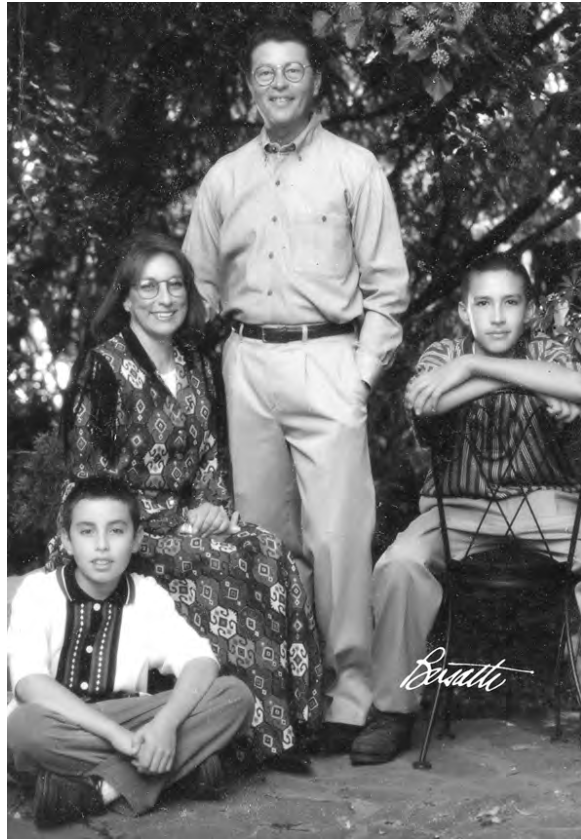
²⁴ Florez, interview. The Matheson administration eventually did hire one Chicano administrator: Andy Gallegos in Social Services.

Second, John Florez became involved in a bitter dispute with a Salt Lake County Democratic Party official who, he felt, was condescending and took the Mexican American vote for granted. As a result, Florez, the stalwart defender and supporter of the west side, did the unthinkable; bolting party ranks and becoming a Republican.²⁵ The political party switch was another traumatic circumstance for Suazo; his close friend and political mentor had left the Democrats and in 1982 helped Willie Guzman, another Chicano, run as a Republican candidate against his sister-in-law,

Bobbie Florez, who had been appointed to fill her late husband's seat in the House of Representatives. While Florez's political, though not philosophical, about face failed to sever his ties to Suazo, it caused a great deal of concern and consternation for the aspiring politician.

Finally, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the political climate of the Beehive State shifted and Utah became dominated by Republicans. Given Suazo's philosophical leanings and his ties to a minority party, his political future appeared limited. Consequently, the Suazos left Utah in 1982 and moved to Penasco, New Mexico, where Alicia taught school and Pete looked for work.²⁶

Although John Florez's decision to leave the Democratic Party had been politically and personally painful for his protege, he still remained Utah's most important Chicano activist and he used his political connections to help Pete secure a public service position in New Mexico. In a letter dated December 20, 1982, Pete expressed his thanks for the help in getting a job with the El Valle De Los Ranchos Water and Sanitation District:



Pete Suazo, his wife Alicia and two sons, Julio and Emilio.

²⁵ Whitney, "Generations of Change."

²⁶ Alicia Suazo, interview.

You really went above and beyond the call of duty by contacting other folks to write letters on my behalf. I've always had a tough time asking for help that directly benefits me. I consider it a true blessing to have you as a friend and mentor...I was selected as the Administrative Director; now I've got my hands full again. I know you accept my success as your success. I can honestly say that no one has had more to do with bringing me from a little West-Side punk, to educating me, guiding me and helping me become the person that I am. This is not mush, John; I really appreciate everything you've done for me.²⁷

It appears from this document that any party differences which may have existed due to Florez's decision to break with the Democratic Party had failed to loosen the bonds of personal friendship between the two men. Upon Suazo's return to Salt Lake City, after the death of his grandfather in late 1985, the relationship proved invaluable to the success of the younger man's political aspirations.²⁸

After returning to Utah, Suazo utilized local connections to procure employment as a grant writer with the Institute for Human Resource Development (IHRD), an agency funded and controlled by SOCIO. The IHRD was charged with hiring Hispanics and administering social service projects to benefit people in the community. Suazo's work for IHRD led to a similar position in Salt Lake City Mayor Ted Wilson's administration. Additionally, Suazo continued working as a community activist to address the needs of barrio youth and the growing gang problem in the west side. His endeavors brought him to the attention of the city's new mayor, Palmer DePaulis, who served from 1985-1991, and named Suazo Director of his Community Affairs Office in 1986. Mayor DePaulis selected Suazo because of his "thoroughness and work ethic and how versatile he was. Pete could work with people of diverse backgrounds and cared deeply about justice and redressing problems."²⁹

He served as the city administration's point man on a variety of issues including the shortage of low-income housing, the city's growing gang problem, and improving the graduation rate of minorities in area schools. He was also part of a group that formulated an action plan for the diversification of the Salt Lake City economy. Representative of Suazo's many-faceted work in support of poor and minority residents was the establishment of the In-School Scouting Program in Salt Lake City Schools.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) has been closely connected with the Boy Scouts of America since 1911, when church leaders selected scouting as an official church youth program.³⁰ While this undertaking provided countless boys with an opportunity to participate in

²⁷ Letter from Pete Suazo to John Florez, December 20, 1982. Copy of the letter is in author's possession.

²⁸ Florez, interview.

²⁹ Palmer DePaulis, interview with author, May 13, 2005.

³⁰ Lowell M. Snow, "Scouting," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 3:1275-77.

worthwhile activities, it also had unintended consequences. Because most of Utah's troops were based in local LDS wards and the majority of Hispanic youths in the state are Catholic, participation in this program by barrio youths had been limited. As Suazo noted in 1989, "Many children growing up in Utah have not had easy access to scouting....For all practical purposes, the Boy Scouts of America has been an LDS church program. That's not to say that's not good, but a lot of kids who could have gained some benefit from it haven't been exposed to scouting." Mayor DePaulis and Suazo believed that scouting could help keep some of the west side's troubled kids on the straight and narrow. Their undertaking, which initially targeted four thousand students, boys and girls on fifteen campuses, was designed to teach inner city youths valuable skills such as honesty and responsibility; as well as an appreciation for nature. Pete argued that a small investment in such a program would save the city substantial amounts of money in the future for it was "something we can do proactively...to build a much stronger sense of pride in young people." By the early 1990s, the innovative program was in place on school campuses city-wide.³¹

In 1991, with the DePaulis administration on its way out of city hall, once again, it was time for the now forty-year-old Suazo to reassess his future. Given his extensive experience in government, both he and his wife believed the time had come to seek elective office. Before making a decision, however, he sought the counsel of his two political mentors. Not surprisingly, Mayor DePaulis and John Florez advised him that the moment had indeed arrived; still, the men cautioned, it was imperative that Suazo take care to not be perceived strictly as a "Chicano" candidate. Florez, in particular, reminded his friend that it would be necessary to reach out to all sectors of the west side community, including local unions and other components of the Democratic Party such as gays and lesbians, in order to win. In doing so, he could provide a voice for the various "others" long ignored by the state's political power structure.³²

Suazo had to decide whether to run for a Utah House or Senate seat. Initially, he thought about the possibility of running for the upper chamber and challenging Senator Rex Black. This seemed like a good possibility for, as the *Deseret News* noted in 1992, Black's "district has changed over the years and a young, aggressive Hispanic...would likely have had success against Black."³³ It was at this point that Florez, once again, proffered sage advice. While the minority population within the district might have generated sufficient votes for victory, the veteran politician argued that Suazo should not pigeonhole himself politically.

Because Senator Black had the support of organized labor, and Suazo did

³¹ Robert Rice, "Support Scouting to Reach 'At Risk' Youths, Mayor Urges," *Deseret News*, March 7, 1989. DePaulis, interview.

³² DePaulis, interview, and Florez, interview.

³³ *Deseret News* July 10, 1992

not want to damage relations with that important constituency, he wisely chose not to challenge for the senate seat. Instead, he focused upon the Twenty-third House District, a seat then held by conservative Democrat Ted Lewis. The incumbent, who often sided with Republicans, did not have the backing of labor, Hispanics, and gays and lesbians, primarily because he did not support hate crimes legislation.³⁴ With two such powerful Democratic constituencies against him, Lewis lost the party's nomination at the county convention. Suazo, who earned more than 70 percent of the delegate votes, scored a major political victory by cobbling together a coalition that would keep him in office until his untimely demise.³⁵

Not surprisingly, after taking office, Representative Suazo focused attention upon issues that most directly impacted his core constituents by speaking out about affordable housing and child care, high drop out rates for minorities in Utah schools, crime prevention, and increasing awareness of the needs of minorities. Given his love of the outdoors and sports, he also concentrated on issues such as the regulation of boxing, wrestling and hunting. Finally, utilizing his background in management and economics, the freshman representative also established Impact Business Consultants; an enterprise dedicated to helping minority individuals navigate the often turbulent waters to establish their own businesses.³⁶

During his two terms in the lower house (1993-1994 and 1995-1996), Suazo sponsored a total of thirty-one bills, eight of which were passed and signed into legislation.³⁷ While not being able to pass much of his agenda, Suazo increasingly used his position to become a powerful and active voice for the forgotten people and issues of Utah. Particularly significant was his consistent call for state leaders to examine such issues as affirmative action, hate crimes legislation, crime, and the growing number of undocumented aliens living in the state.³⁸ Given his concern for the "others" concentrated

³⁴ See the following articles from the *Deseret News*: Bob Brenick Jr., "House Races Give Hard Workers a Chance," July 10, 1992; Kristen Moulton, "State's Minority Programs Decry Loss of Federal Aid and 'Lackadaisical' Neglect from Predominant Utahns"; "Demo Seeks House Seat in Dist. 23"; "Bangerter Taps Demo to Fill Vacant House District 23 Seat"; May 10, 1992.

³⁵ Jay Evensen, "Chaos Keeps Demos From Adopting Platform," *Deseret News*, May 31, 1992.

³⁶ For an overview of the activities of Representative Suazo during his term in the Utah House, see the following articles from the *Deseret News*: "Utah Must Provide More Funds for Counseling and Language Programs, Minority Leaders Say," May 10, 1992; "MED Week Nominations are Due by Friday," May 19, 1993; Nicole A. Bonham, "4 Hispanics Honored for Recent Appointments," August 29, 1993; Will Grey, "Adequate Child-Care Funding Sought," December 5, 1993; Adam Elggren, "Spirited Audience At U. Hails Rights Leader, Utah Cultures," January 16, 1994; Joe Costanzo and Jerry Spangler, "Lawmakers Design Programs Aimed at Curbing Youth Crime," February 4, 1994; Matthew S. Brown, "New Fees Could be Taxing for Hunters, Other Utahns," March 1, 1993; "Martial Arts," February 19, 1994; Brooke Adams, "S.L. to Support Creation of a Youth City Council," June 18, 1994; Jerry Spangler, "Demo Urges Letting Taverns Serve Wine as Well as Beer," June 25, 1994; and Amy Donaldson, "Police, Teens Meet in Sport Court Setting," August 27, 1994.

³⁷ According to his childhood friend, Judge Andrew Valdez, this figure does not provide an effective assessment of Pete Suazo's value to the state. Valdez, interview.

³⁸ See the following articles from the *Deseret News*: Jennifer K. Hatch, "Corradini Calls S.L. Parking-Lot Shooting as Serious as Major Flood or Earthquake," September 30, 1994; "Leavitt Modifies Views on Illegal Immigration," December 29, 1994; Susan Lyman-Whitney, "Affirmative Action," May 18, 1995; Bob

on the west side, it is not surprising that he won reelection handily in November 1994.³⁹ In 1996, when Senator Rex Black decided not to run for reelection, Suazo ran for the vacated seat and trounced his Republican opponent James A. Waters by a 65 to 35 percent margin.⁴⁰

Once ensconced in the upper chamber of the legislature, Suazo continued



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Pete Suazo with two boys at a youth boxing banquet.

pushing his agenda. For example, by the end of 1997, Pete helped pass legislation that made it legal for Utahns with terminal illnesses to sell their life insurance policies for cash. The legislation earned the freshman Senator much praise from the AIDS Coalition of Utah, which awarded him their Political/Social Policy Award in September. Later that year he spoke out on the issue of AIDS education at a World AIDS Day event at the state capitol; chastising officials for not providing sufficient funding for education about the disease. "It's time we stopped the denial, start educating and start preventing."⁴¹ In addition to speaking out on behalf of his constituents, Suazo had a more personal reason for this policy position; he wanted to honor his sister Deana, who died from AIDS in 1993.⁴²

Other issues which the senator from District 2 raised within and outside the legislature called for broader representation of minorities within the Salt Lake Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOC) and the passage of legislation to provide basic health insurance coverage for Utah's mostly Mexicano and Mexican American farm workers.⁴³ He also worked to improve the status and regulation of boxing in the state by proposing a tax on pay-per-view

Bernick Jr., "Demo Aims to Add Tool Against Gangs," June 22, 1995; Zack Van Eyck, "Lawmaker Urges Creation of Civil Rights Commission," January 15, 1996; "House Panel gives Green Light to a Crackdown on Joyriding," February 1, 1996; Lois M. Collins, "Welfare Reform Clears Committee," February 19, 1996; and "Stephens Snags Top Rating of 100% for 3rd Year Running," April 7, 1996.

³⁹ "House of Representatives," *Deseret News*, November 9, 1994.

⁴⁰ See the following articles from the *Deseret News*: "9 Legislators Won't Seek to Hang on to Their Posts," February 29, 1996; "Who Are the Candidates? Here's a Listing," March 20, 1996; and "State Senate," November 6, 1996.

⁴¹ Douglas D. Palmer, "AIDS Coalition Honors Utahns, Organizations," *Deseret News*, September 27, 1997.

⁴² Spencer Young, "Utahns Remember Victims of AIDS," *Deseret News*, December 2, 1997.

⁴³ Lisa Riley Roche, "Group Says SLOC Needs Broader Representation," *Deseret News*, December 5, 1997 and "Senate Panel Passes Bill on Farm Workers Insurance," *Deseret News*, February 13, 1998.

matches with the revenues to go to support amateur boxing clubs and the Utah Boxing Commission.⁴⁴ Even if his legislation failed to pass, the senator did much to raise awareness regarding the concerns of Utah's "others."

Although such proposals caused controversy, all of this paled in comparison with the legislation that he made the cornerstone of his time in the senate: the revision of the 1992 Utah Hate Crimes law. His sense of justice, his support for Utah's gay and lesbian population, and the killing of a young Latino, Alfonso Repreza, on the streets of Salt Lake City on Halloween night 1998, helped fuel this particular stand and led to the introduction of Senate Bill 34 during the 1999 legislative session.⁴⁵

The proposed legislation "would protect people against hate crimes on the basis of race, religion, national origin, color, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or mental and physical disabilities." Support for the bill came from groups such as the local chapter of the NAACP, the Utah Sentencing Project, the Episcopal Diocese, Utahns for Choice, and the Utah Democratic Gay and Lesbian Caucus. Suazo marshaled much evidence in support of his bill, arguing that, since 1992, "more than 500 hate crimes have been reported in Utah." Specifically, he stated "60 percent of Utah's hate crimes are committed because of the victim's race; 15 percent because of ethnicity and 13 percent because of sexual orientation. The rest, more than 10 percent, are committed because of religion."⁴⁶

Opposition to the proposition came from organizations such as the Eagle Forum. The group's head, Gayle Ruzicka, argued that Suazo's proposal would divide, not unite Utahns. "Why are we even considering something like this? All people deserve to be protected equally." The bill never made it out of committee; failing on a straight party line vote.⁴⁷

The push for hate crimes legislation garnered positive and negative notoriety for Senator Suazo. His core constituents lavished praise upon him for this stand. However, the push for the regulation did not produce

⁴⁴ Zack Van Eyck, "Pay-per-View Tax Would Boost Boxing," *Deseret News*, February 7, 1998.

⁴⁵ The following articles are from the *Deseret News*: Amy Joi Bryson, "2 Families Agonize After Deadly Fight," November 3, 1998; Spencer Young, "Suspect in Stabbing a 'Good Young Man,' Father Says," November 6, 1998; Hans S. Moran, "3 Teens to Stand Trial in Slaying," February 6, 1999; "Judge Balks at Lowering Bail for Straight Edger in Killing: He Cites Remarks Teenager Made on National TV Show," March 30, 1999; Hans Camporreales and Jana L. McQuay, "Straight Edger Gets Suspended Sentence in Slaying: He Chased After Victim but Tried to Stop Fatal Attack," July 13, 1999; Derek Jensen, "Defendant Pleads Guilty in Slaying: Straight Edger Admits Killing in Halloween Fight," September 21, 1999; "A 2nd Straight Edger Pleads Guilty in Slaying," October 20, 1999; "2 Straight Edgers Receive Maximum in Terms of Slaying," December 15, 1999; "Stories Vary on Halloween Brawl that Ended Teen's Life in 1998: Prosecutors Rest Case; Jury Likely to Deliberate Soon," December 23, 1999; Brady Snyder and Derek Jensen, "Straight Edger Acquitted of Murder," December 24, 1999; and "Appeals Court Sends Back Straight Edger's Case," October 12, 2002.

⁴⁶ Susan Whitney, "Utahns Often Unaware of Hate Crimes: 'Week Without Violence' Starts with Some Statistics," *Deseret News*, October 21, 1999.

⁴⁷ The following articles are from the *Deseret News*: Ami Jo Bryson, "Hate-Crimes Debate Grows Contentious," February 2, 1999; "Utah Lawmakers Resist Hate-Crime Reforms," February 5, 1999; "Senate Committee Rejects Changes in Hate-Crimes Bill," February 4, 1999; and Bob Bernick Jr., and Jerry Spangler, "Morals' Legislation is Lacking This Season," February 7, 1999.

tangible results and generated intense debate between two old friends. The ever-pragmatic John Florez, once again, disagreed with the strategy and tactics of his apprentice lamenting that instead of gaining ground, Suazo was mistakenly “spending his political capital [on hate crimes] and [it] does not do diddly concerning [the more important] issues of education.”⁴⁸ Instead, Florez counseled Suazo to work on “more important issues” such as school funding and drop out prevention. Florez reminded his friend that, contrary to the icy reception from the Matheson administration, by working with the GOP majority, he had managed to get Hispanics appointed to



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government positions starting with the Norman Bangerter administration in 1985. Indeed, Florez authored the executive order which established the governor’s Minority Council; a direct link for the state’s minority populations to the highest elected official in the state. Florez chided Suazo “see, we have been working our butts off to help the Democrats and nothing happens, and we get a Republican and he appoints three of us to key policy positions.”⁴⁹

Pete Suazo shooting pool with two boys at the Poplar Grove Boys and Girls Club.

Once again, Suazo agonized over the reality of his political circumstances. He wanted to press for legislation that his constituents considered crucial; but there seemed to be little, if any, possibility to secure passage of a hate-crimes bill. Finally, by the time the legislature began its January 2000 session, Suazo had worked out a compromise that could satisfy his supporters and signal his willingness to reach out to more moderate elements of the Republican majority.

⁴⁸ Florez, interview.

⁴⁹ Ibid. These three individuals were: Joe Pacheco of the Tax Commission, Vickie Palacios of the Board of Pardons, and John Florez of the Utah State Industrial Committee.

Senate Bill 14 was his attempt to bridge the political and philosophical gap. Instead of offering a listing of “protected classes,” the new version of the bill only “created a more severe penalty for crimes in which the victim is targeted primarily because of...bias or prejudice.” The inclusion of the phrase “primarily because of bias,” was enough to satisfy Republican Terry Spencer, a lawyer, who stated that this was “exactly the type of language he wanted to see included in the measure.... I think this is one of those debates that we do need to hear a full debate on the Senate floor.” As a result, the committee voted to report favorably on Senate Bill 14. Once on the floor, Suazo reminded his colleagues that “A hate crime goes beyond just the individual victimization or the injury involved with that victim. It is intended, often times, to terrorize a community.” To answer those senators who expressed concerns over the supposed censoring of thought, he also argued that, “A person’s first amendment right to free speech, however obnoxious that may be, ends at the point of your fist. You cannot then inflict any pain as in assault and battery or graffiti against someone as a result of that speech.” Although some members continued to express trepidation, the senate voted overwhelmingly (24-4) in favor of the legislation.⁵⁰ Just as it appeared that passage was a possibility, however, the house committee dealing with the legislation tabled the matter, due in part to heavy pressure from the Eagle Forum, and the session ended. Still, Suazo’s compromise language had moved the bill to its furthest point in the legislative process. As a Democratic legislator in Utah, he had learned that it was necessary to have the “‘will of an ant’...and he will come back next year with another hate crime bill. If it takes four years, it takes four years.”⁵¹

Senator Suazo’s consistent stand for hate-crimes legislation no doubt solidified his standing among many of his constituents. An examination of certain aspects of his reelection campaign in 2000, however, makes it apparent that he was not interested in playing the role of Sisyphus. Indeed, many of his statements indicated that he wanted to reach out, as mentor John Florez strongly suggested, to colleagues on the Republican side of the aisle. This shift in political terminology is evident in some of his statements to the *Deseret News* in October of that year.

In a response to a series of questions put to the three candidates for Senate District 2 seat (opposing Suazo were Richard D. Barnes a Libertarian and Sandra Richter a member of the Independent American Party) the three contestants addressed the key issues confronting the district

⁵⁰ The following articles are from the *Deseret News*: Amy Joi Bryson, “Measures Target Profiling, Hate Crimes: Both Likely to Spur Heated Controversy,” January 17, 2000; Zack Van Eyck, “Correction: Wording Change Enables Hate-Crimes Bill to Advance,” February 8, 2000; and “Hate-Crime Bill Prevails over Senate Objections,” February 15, 2000.

⁵¹ The following articles are from the *Deseret News*: “Legislative Wrap-Up,” February 18, 2000; Bob Brenick Jr., “Lawmakers Split Over Hate Crimes,” February 23, 2000; Lucinda Dillon, “Minority Legislation Fares Poorly: King Day Bill Passes Despite ‘Hateful Comments,’” March 2, 2000; and “Legislature 2000: Summaries,” March 2, 2000.

and the state. Surprisingly, Suazo made no mention of the hate crime legislation that he had so strongly supported in previous years in his response to a question about the “three major issues facing state government today.” Instead, he focused on schools and quality of life. “Public education is my primary concern...I am distressed to see so many so-called temporary classroom trailers on



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the campuses of our elementary schools.” In addition, he discussed his support of a tax increase for mass transportation and efforts to improve air quality in urban areas. In most of his responses, Suazo definitely backed issues that appealed to most west side Democrats: tighter gun control, opposition to the Official English Initiative then being pushed in Utah, and removing the Beehive State’s infamous sales tax on unprepared food. In other responses, he came across as being in line with aspects of a moderate Republican agenda. For example, in response to possible tax increases he stated:

Pete Suazo ice fishing at Scofield Reservoir.

I have absolutely no intention of voting for increases in income or property or even the sales tax. I do not think it is appropriate for the voter at the local county level to consider tax increases from sales tax to fund mass transportation systems. As an individual voter, I am prepared to do this. As a legislator I would resist a tax increase on gasoline, prices are already too high.⁵²

At the start of the 2001 legislative session, it appeared that supporters of the measure had made headway, if not in the legislative chambers, then among the general public. In February the *Deseret News* and KSL (the local CBS radio and television affiliate, owned by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), conducted a poll in which individuals were asked if hate crimes were a “problem” in Utah. Unexpectedly, the majority, 60 percent, responded in the affirmative. “Another 52 percent said they would support changes to the state’s law currently proposed by Sen. Pete Suazo, D-Salt Lake City.” Still, even with growing support from the people of Utah, Senate Bill 37 was not necessarily going to become law for “even if SB37 passes the Senate, it could face a tough road in the House, where a similar bill died last year... [and] the House Judiciary committee...already killed HB50, a...bill virtually identical...sponsored

⁵² “State Senate District 2,” *Deseret News*, October 1, 2000.

by Rep. David Litvack, D-Salt Lake City.”⁵³

Just when it appeared that Senate Bill 37 was doomed to failure, one Utah organization, which Senator Suazo characterized as a “hate group,” inadvertently helped push Senate Republicans toward support for the measure. The National Alliance, “which sees whites as a superior race, is worried hate crime laws are an ‘Orwellian type of thought control,’” sent members of the senate a CD designed to counter Suazo’s arguments with “a 15-minute speech by...Chairman William L. Pierce...[discussing] conspiracy theories on the ‘Jewish media bosses’...[and] race-mixing white trash....” The “advice” from the National Alliance prompted some in the majority party to continue working with Suazo and finally, with the inclusion of the phrase, “as demonstrated by the defendant’s actions at the time the offense was committed” the amended version of Senate Bill 37 cleared the senate by a vote of 21-5.⁵⁴

As the new version of the legislation made its way to the House of Representatives, both Governor Michael Leavitt and Attorney General Mark Shurtleff expressed their support for the bill, but the state’s highest elected official “stopped short of admitting whether he would approach individual representatives to sway their support for SB37.”⁵⁵

Unfortunately, on March 1, 2001, the legislative session ended and for the fourth consecutive year the bill failed to pass. Suazo was not to be dissuaded declaring once again: “I am not going to let the issue die.”⁵⁶

Considering the amount of political capital spent on the hate crime bill during the previous sessions, it is important to note that Senator Suazo also pushed other legislative issues. Because he had boxed in his youth, served as an International Boxing Association referee since 1999, and had been involved with young boxers from the west side for many years, it is not surprising that he sponsored legislation designed to strengthen the sport in Utah.⁵⁷ Suazo was particularly interested in providing the Utah Boxing Commission a degree of independence necessary for it to promote, not just regulate, pugilism. Formerly, the regulatory body had been part of the Utah Division of Occupational and Professional Licensing and the legislation Suazo introduced sought to make the board much more proactive. As former chairman of the commission Larry Fulmer noted, “we weren’t allowed to encourage the sport, we were simply there to regulate it. Now the boxing commission will actually encourage promoters instead of just being a thorn in their sides.”⁵⁸

⁵³ Derek Jensen, “Utahns Say Hate Crime is Problem,” *Deseret News*, February 13, 2001.

⁵⁴ The following articles are from the *Deseret News* and written by Derek Jensen, “Alliance Draws Suazo Fire: Utah Lawmakers Get Letters, CDs on Hate Crime Bill, February 18, 2001; “Revival for Bill on Hate Crimes?” February 20, 2001; and “Senate Revives Hate-Crimes Bill,” February 21, 2001.

⁵⁵ Derek Jensen, “Suazo Strives to Revive Hate-Crimes Bill,” *Deseret News*, February 28, 2001.

⁵⁶ Bob Brenick Jr., “Weary Lawmakers end ‘Mild’ Session: But They’ll be Back to Settle Applied-Tech Issue,” and “Online Guide: Top Issues of the 2001 Legislature,” *Deseret News*, March 1, 2001.

⁵⁷ Becky Suazo, interview.

There were three goals for the boxing commission: to increase the number of fights in the state, to regulate such events properly for the safety of the fighters and the enjoyment of fans, and to provide opportunity for youths from disadvantaged backgrounds. As Suazo noted in 1998, "Boxing has always provided an opportunity for low-income youth, particularly, minority youth."⁵⁹

Still another service that Pete Suazo provided to the citizens of Utah was his work on the joint House-Senate Redistricting committee. The work began in April 2001. He believed it was his duty to make sure that the voice of the minority populations be heard during the often contentious process. Early on, some members of the majority Republican Party suggested that District 2 be redrawn to include more rural parts of northern Utah that traditionally voted Republican, or that parts of the west side be moved to a district that already included more rural counties. However, committee co-chairman, Republican Michael Waddoups "went out of his way to keep intact Hispanics in areas" of Suazo's district. "We thought it important, especially with minority lawsuits over redistricting, to keep community of interest whole. And we did, and Pete likes it."⁶⁰ As a result of his efforts in the senate, in early August 2001, Pete Suazo was selected by his party's colleagues to assume the position of assistant minority whip.⁶¹

By the autumn of 2001, Pete Suazo had accomplished much of what he wanted in regard to his professional life. He was a respected legislator, a strong and vibrant voice for his community, and a moral conscience for the Utah legislature in regard to its treatment of minorities. All came to a sudden and tragic stop on the evening of August 19, 2001. Friends and family grieved his loss, and the caucus of the Democratic Party turned to his widow, a career school teacher, to serve in her husband's stead. While many politicians paid lip service to the legacy of Pete Suazo, particularly in regard to redistricting, it was clear that some would take advantage of the situation. Pledges of fairness made regarding Senate District 2 while Suazo lived became distant memories after his widow's move to the senate. Boundaries were realigned and the district became much more Republican as the west

⁵⁸ C.G. Wallace, "Utah Finally Gets Boxing Commission: Board is Charged with Promoting Boxing in the State," *Deseret News*, June 3, 2001.

⁵⁹ Jason Swensen, "Boxing has Cheerleader on Hill," *Deseret News*, February 18, 1998; and Zack Van Eyck, "Suazo Wants to Expand Boxing Panel's Role," *Deseret News*, June 20, 2000. One of the significant results of his legislation has been the increasing number of Utah-based boxers who have made their mark in the professional ranks. The best example of this trend is Gary Gomez from West Valley City, who, in December of 2004, won the WBC Continental Championship belt in the cruiserweight class (190 to 200 pounds). Aaron Cole, "Boxing Provided Him Direction: And Gomez Wants to See Sport's Image Improved," *Deseret News*, April 29, 2005.

⁶⁰ The following articles are from the *Deseret News*, Dennis Romboy, "Coming Soon: Redistricting: Utah Panel Set to Start Shifting School Board, Political Boundaries," April 5, 2001; Bob Bernick Jr., "Waddoups Drafts Redistricting Plan: He Says Parties Will Have Say in Actual Redrawing," May 18, 2001; "Senators Getting Jostled in Redistricting," July 13, 2001; and Jesse Hyde and Bob Bernick Jr., "Redistricting: Solomon's Way?: Throckmorton Plan Would Bisect Utah and S.L. Counties," July 13, 2001.

⁶¹ "New Leaders in Utah Senate," *Deseret News*, August 5, 2001.

side's Spanish-surnamed population now resides in a more conservative district comprised mostly of Utah County. By the end of the 2002 session, Alicia Suazo, dejected about the failure to pass hate crimes legislation and not wanting to participate further in the brutal world of politics, decided not to run for her husband's former senate seat.⁶²

In the years since his passing, Pete Suazo has been remembered as a powerful voice for Utah's Latino and other minority communities. Finally, the 2005 legislature passed an amendment to the state's original 1992 hate crimes legislation (House Bill 90, sponsored by David Litvack, a Democrat from Salt Lake City) which criminalized much of the behavior that Suazo had challenged. Upon passage, the legislature praised his memory and tireless efforts in seeking justice and fairness for all citizens. Other aspects of the Suazo agenda have been equally successful. The Utah Boxing Commission, now the Pete Suazo Utah Athletic Commission, continues to develop the sport in the state. Another area of interest for Senator Suazo was the creation of minority businesses. This worthy endeavor is now served by the Pete Suazo Business Center located at 960 West 1700 South in Salt Lake City. The center, with the assistance of major Utah commercial entities, the Brigham Young University and University of Utah Business Schools, and the Utah Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, is dedicated to making the dream of business ownership a reality for all; but specifically for Utah's burgeoning Hispanic population. Finally, the College of Social Work at the University of Utah, now awards a prize named in his honor to individuals working for increased social justice in the state. In 2004, one of the organizations so honored was the Centro de La Familia, the renamed IHRD, one of the remnants of the SOCIO coalition which so impacted Suazo's life and career.⁶³

The life and career of Eliud "Pete" Suazo, like the lives of other Mexican Americans who have been the subject of recent biographies, "testifies to a level of self-determination that is often underemphasized in discussions of Mexican American historiography."⁶⁴ The actions of such individuals did much to raise awareness and improve the lives of the people in their communities. From the early 1970s, Pete Suazo challenged the treatment of minorities often considered as "others" by the majority population of Utah. Given the conservative nature of politics in the state, this was a difficult task.

⁶² The following articles are from the *Deseret News*, Elaine Jarvik, "Alicia Suazo Urged to Replace Her Husband in State Senate," August 26, 2001; Bob Bernick Jr. and Zack Van Eyck, "Stephens Sees a Fair Redistricting: Lawmakers Meet a Day after Demo Protest Rally," September 25, 2001; "Winners and Losers (Legislative Redistricting)," October 6, 2001; and Bob Bernick Jr., "Suazo Says She'll Not Seek Own Term," March 21, 2002.

⁶³ Gladys Gonzalez, interview with author, March 28, 2005. See also the following articles from the *Deseret News*: Jennifer K. Nii, "Suazo Center Opening: Purpose is to Help Underserved Group Build Businesses," August 22, 2003; Deborah Bulkeley, "Suazo Center to Empower Minorities: Ground Broken for Facility to Help Businesses," October 29, 2004; and "Suazo Awards Hail Social Justice Efforts: Recipients are Five People, Centro de La Familia," March 13, 2004.

⁶⁴ Kreneck, *Mexican American Odyssey*, 8.



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Thomas Kreneck, in his biography of Houston Hispanic leader Felix Tijerina, noted that his subject contributed to Mexican American history in three ways; “he fostered a civic infrastructure vital to community advancement...influenced public policy by providing a needed Mexican American perspective... [and provided] a positive symbol of Mexican American character and achievement.”⁶⁵ Pete Suazo did all of this and more. By examining the life story of this “little west side punk,” as he called himself, students of the state’s history can gain a fresh perspective on the life of minority populations. Given the dramatic increase in Utah’s Hispanic population, now estimated to be around 264,000 (almost 11 percent of the state’s total population), it is of paramount importance to record such stories, not only for the inspiration that they can provide, but to promote goodwill and greater understanding among all of the various peoples that call the Beehive State home.⁶⁶

Suazo family members participate in the groundbreaking ceremony on October 21, 2004, for the Pete Suazo Business Center: standing left to right, Victor Suazo, uncle; Caitlyn Suazo, niece; Mikayla Suazo, cousin; Sonny Suazo, nephew; David Suazo, uncle; Delila Mitchell, niece; Elijah Mitchell, great nephew and godson; Georgia Aarellano, sister; Andy “Gonzaga” Suazo, brother; Cecilia Suazo, mother; Anna Marie Brown, sister; Pat Suazo, father; Alicia Suazo, wife; Julio Suazo, son; Emilio Suazo, son; Becky Carter, niece; Joshua Carter, nephew; Deja Carter, great niece; and Agustus Carter (seated), nephew.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 12-13.

⁶⁶ Pew Hispanic Center, “Chronicling Latinos’ diverse experiences in the changing America: A Statistical Portrait in the changing America: A Statistical Portrait of Hispanics at mid-century,” Table 10, Hispanic Population by state: 2000 and 2005; Table 12, Hispanic Population by State: 2005. <http://Pewhispanic.org> (accessed December 20, 2007.)

BOOK REVIEWS

France Davis: An American Story Told. By Reverend France A. Davis and Nayra Atiya.

(Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2007. ix + 277 pp. Cloth, \$24.95.)

IN 1976 WHEN HE WAS twenty-eight years old, France Albert Davis, a native Georgian who had come to Utah on a graduate fellowship from the University of Utah's Communication Department, was invited to serve as interim Pastor of the Calvary Missionary Baptist Church, the largest historically African American church in Salt Lake City, the headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. By then he also had served his country in Southeast Asia, during the Vietnam War, in the U.S. Air Force, attended Tuskegee University, whose founder Booker T. Washington was a major socio-political voice at the turn of the twentieth century, marched with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during the explosive Civil Rights Movement, and attended the University of California at Berkeley. Before accepting the position, which later became permanent, he returned to Berkeley to marry his sweetheart and "master mother," Willene Davis, and was father to Carolyn Marie. Grace, his second daughter, France A. Davis II, his only son, and grandson, Cedric, were born in Salt Lake City. For over the past thirty years, Davis has continued to head Calvary's congregation, whose membership now numbers over a thousand. He holds several graduate degrees, was given an honorary doctorate degree in humane letters by the University of Utah, and has received national and local citations for his leadership throughout the state.

One of nine children of Julia Cooper and Deacon Davis and the descendant of former slaves and sharecroppers, France grew up on the family owned farm in a spirit and love filled home in which hard work and education ("schooling") were valued. When one considers that Cooperstown in Burke County, Georgia, the segregated, "separate but equal" world into which he was born in 1946, prescribed a life of sharecropping, at best, or criminality, at worse, for African American males, Davis's life story—including and despite a conflagration in which 30 percent of his body was burned, numerous death threats because of his fearless activism and leadership in the larger community—indeed reads, even cursorily, like a fairy tale.

In the end, by writing his autobiography Davis provides, without a doubt, significant information and details about who he is, not merely as a public figure but, perhaps more important, as a private man who is pastor, teacher, son, husband, father, and grandfather. Significantly, in the process he reminds us of where he came from. For example, he successfully but painfully calls our attention, indeed bears witness to the fact, that at one time in America black men—no matter their age—were only to be addressed as "boy," reminding us, as did Richard Wright in his autobiography, *Black Boy*, that America has not always lived up to its basic creed: "All men are created equal."

However, Davis' story is not a lamentation but a celebration. In it, one learns the history of blacks in the South, in particular, the history and practices of the

black Baptist churches, and the general history of African Americans. Davis is not only at home describing the wonderful folk practices and beliefs of black southerners (his aunt was a root worker), and the homilies and philosophies of the common folk (like his father) who helped to shape his life, but he is equally at home describing and relating his life to that of such giants as Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. DuBois with whom he resonates throughout his text. Davis' chosen title; *France Davis: An American Story Told* alerts us to the fact that he is "telling" "An American Story," a claim that resonates with and connects him to Frederick Douglass and his *Narrative of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave*. His is not THE American story, but one of many; he speaks for himself and often for the voiceless community he represents, whose voice should be both heard and celebrated. Like DuBois, Davis is interested in having us see and hear the "strivings in the souls of black folk."

In fact, *France Davis: An American Story Told*, fits into a well established genre in the African American literary tradition: the slave narrative/black autobiography, popularized by such writers as Douglass, Washington, DuBois, Wright, Zora N. Hurston, Maya Angelou, and James Baldwin, to name a few. Like them, Davis, in the tradition of the Black Church, bears witness to stories told of what it means to grow up black in America, and specifically in the South. A central theme in the works of these writers is the author's quest for wholeness, which, in many cases, is directly related to literacy and spirituality, themes that resound in Davis' work. Perhaps more important, like these writers, with the exception of Wright, a southerner whose experiences left him scarred for life, Davis ends up celebrating the indomitable spirit of African Americans and embracing it as his legacy.

The result is a candid portrait of an individual who is most complex, committed and spiritual. In some ways, Davis provides an Horatio Alger-like narrative of an individual who rose from rags to riches, but rather than material riches, his rewards are, for the most part, grounded in his sincere spiritual life, one that, as he traces in this work, was a centerpiece of the humble life his parents taught him, as well as one that he nurtured after his conversion to Christianity at the Robinson Grove Baptist Church and call to the ministry while living in Florida.

With the assistance of Nayra Atiya, Davis tells in *France Davis: An American Story Told* the story of a compelling, moving, painful and, in the end, celebratory life. The book's strength is that it is well written. Not surprisingly, however, Davis' powerful oratorical skills—his preacherly voice—resound on every page in the short sermon-like chapters. Thus, it is simultaneously expertly and excellently written and "preached." It belongs to and fits into a well-established literary genre in the American and African American literary traditions.

WILFRED D. SAMUELS
University of Utah

Struggle Over Utah's San Rafael Swell: Wilderness, National Conservation Areas, and National Monuments. By Jeffrey O. Durrant. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007. ix + 258 pp. Cloth, \$60.00; paper, \$29.95.)

THE SAN RAFAEL SWELL is a deeply eroded geological upwarp extending over a million acres of Emery County in east-central Utah. Jeffrey Durrant uses this dramatic, uninhabited landscape, which is almost entirely government-owned, as a case study in the political debates over public lands policy in the twenty-first century American West, arguing that "the struggle over the San Rafael Swell not only mirrors the broader struggle over transformation of policy toward public lands, but is often a much more intense articulation of that struggle" (105).

For several decades after white settlers arrived in the region, the rugged canyons, buttes, and cliff-girt flats of the San Rafael country were little known outside of the nearby communities. Local residents grazed livestock in the Swell, prospected for minerals (including radioactive ores for the experimental work with radium in the early years of the twentieth century), and used the area for family recreation, most notably in the annual spring excursion known as "Eastering." During the 1950s, the San Rafael Swell, like the entire Colorado Plateau region of which it forms a part, was caught up in the uranium boom that put roads into numerous places previously inaccessible to motor vehicles. Then, in 1970, the Swell was neatly bisected by the asphalt ribbon of Interstate 70, providing unprecedented access to its heart and exposing its scenery to millions of motorists.

Several years earlier, in his influential "Wilderness Letter" of 1960, Wallace Stegner alluded to the San Rafael Swell and the adjacent Robbers Roost area as places with wilderness values worth protecting, referring to the area as "a lovely and terrible wilderness . . . harshly and beautifully colored, broken and worn until its bones are exposed, its great sky without a smudge of taint from Technocracy, and in hidden corners and pockets under its cliffs the sudden poetry of springs." Still, the Swell did not attract much attention from the wilderness advocacy movement for another twenty years, until the Bureau of Land Management, following the directives of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, identified more than a quarter of a million acres in the San Rafael Swell as "Wilderness Study Areas."

This is where Jeffrey Durrant takes up the story. In four largely descriptive chapters, he first traces the evolution of western public lands from their historic uses for grazing and mining to an increasing emphasis on recreation, with the attending conflicts between motorized and non-motorized recreational uses. Then he discusses the process of mapping potential wilderness areas following the 1976 FLPMA Act, the growing influence of wilderness advocacy groups such as the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, and the development of different approaches

to landscape conservation, including the designation of National Conservation Areas, the transfer of wilderness lands from the Bureau of Land Management to the National Park Service, and then, beginning with President Clinton's creation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in 1996, the direct involvement of the BLM in the management of national monuments and other restricted-use public lands.

Each step in this evolution of public lands policy during the 1980s and '90s had an impact on the San Rafael Swell. Durrant traces the initiatives of Emery County officials as they tried to develop management proposals that would preserve motorized access, grazing and hunting rights, and, most importantly, local water rights. At the same time, wilderness advocacy groups pursued their own initiatives, including proposals that called for as much as 752,900 acres of the Swell to be designated as protected wilderness. Durrant's most probing analysis of the issues comes in Chapter 5, "Contesting Roads and Rivers." He follows with two insightful chapters that present the competing meanings attached to the landscape of the San Rafael Swell by representatives of different parties to the struggle. Regrettably, the recorded interviews suffer from some transcription errors that could have been prevented by more careful editing. For example, Range Creek is rendered as "Ranch Creek" (166) and "wonderful cryptogamic swells" becomes "cryptic image swells" (160). In a similar vein, while Durrant displays a generally sound grasp of regional history, he commits an obvious error when he refers to the "MK Tunnels," excavated in the late 1940s and 1950s for the Army Corps of Engineers by the international construction firm Morrison-Knudson, as having been named for "a local mining company that assisted with the digging and blasting" (22).

Taken as a whole, *Struggle Over Utah's San Rafael Swell* is an informative book for the general reader interested in public lands issues or in the particular landscape of the Swell. Durrant succeeds quite well in presenting an even-handed approach to a contentious topic. However, such is the intensity of the continuing policy impasse that strongly pro- or anti-wilderness readers are likely to feel that the author's own sympathies are tilted in the other direction.

EDWARD A. GEARY
Huntington

Wolfkiller: Wisdom from a Nineteenth-Century Shepherd. Recorded by Louisa Wade Wetherill, compiled by Harvey Leake. (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, Publisher, 2007. xvi + 141 pp. Cloth, \$14.95.)

LOUISA WADE WETHERILL and her husband John are well-known to those familiar with Four Corners history. In 1906 the couple opened a trading post in

Oljato, Utah, and a few years later in Kayenta, Arizona. Their efforts to popularize Rainbow Bridge through tourism were very compatible with Louisa's intense interest in understanding Navajo language and culture. She became adept in both. Wolfkiller, a Navajo man she first met in Oljato, not only struck up a friendship with her, but spent many hours teaching and sharing his cultural background. Born around 1855 and living for seventy years, he witnessed dramatic changes in Navajo culture—from the Long Walk (1860s) to the establishment of the Navajo Reservation, and from abject poverty to a livestock-rich economy. Experience sharpened his sense of history.

This short book is a compilation of what Wolfkiller shared with Louisa over a number of years. There are two sections—Education and Experience—that equally divide the text but are unequal in quality and outlook. For the reader interested in Utah history, the section on experience is superb for a number of reasons. First of all, it is the longest existing account of a Utah Navajo before, during, and shortly after the Long Walk era. While there have been compilations of stories associated with this crucial time in Navajo history, Wolfkiller provides an excellent rendering of his family's thinking and actions during the stressful "Fearing Time," their experience at Fort Sumner, and the period following their return to Utah/Arizona. Just as important is his knowledge of why these events occurred. He points out often that the Navajos need to accept a fair share of the blame for turning other tribes against them, in his case the Utes. This makes many uninformed Navajo scholars uncomfortable, because of their stock portrayal of the evil Kit Carson, the invasion of Canyon de Chelly, the ruthless march of Navajos by heartless soldiers to Fort Sumner, etc., all of which has elements of truth, but is too facile an explanation of what and why things happened. There is no missing Wolfkiller's perspective as a man who lived through these trying times.

There are other highly informative topics that make the book well worth reading. Trapping eagles for ceremonial feathers, catching deer for an "unwounded" hide, teachings about the Anasazi (Ancestral Puebloans), explaining pre-and-post Long Walk Navajo and Ute relations, courting and marriage practices, caring for the dead, and accepting death are a few of the insights gained from his life. Wolfkiller provides a fascinating glimpse into traditional culture and thought.

The first half of the book, Education, is disappointing. For some reason, Louisa bleached and sanitized much of the Navajo culture usually found in these types of stories. Unfortunately, they read more like Rudyard Kipling's "Just So" tales. Whether it was to appeal to a less informed Anglo audience, an attempt to provide universality to a single culture's beliefs, or the desire to "make it sound good," the author divorced much of what is written from a recognizable cultural context. She wrote, unsuccessfully, for acceptance by a general audience; perhaps this is why publishers initially rejected the manuscript.

Where does this dichotomy place today's reader? In spite of the weak beginning, Wolfkiller is an invaluable primary source about a Utah Navajo at a time when little was being recorded concerning this people's experience. Footnotes to

clarify and an index to locate information would have been helpful for the scholarly reader, but that may be asking for more than the editor intended. The photographs placed throughout this work have not been used before and are excellent. This book is recommended as a companion piece with Louisa's classic *Traders to the Navajos* as a source to understand the Navajo experience filtered through the eyes of an early trader in the Four Corners region.

ROBERT S. MCPHERSON
College of Eastern Utah San Juan Campus

Drifting West: The Calamities of James White and Charles Baker. By Virginia

McConnell Simmons. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2007. xxviii + 210 pp.

Cloth \$29.95.)

WHEN A NEAR-DEAD JAMES WHITE floated into Callville, Nevada, on a log raft in September 1867, he began a controversy that has persisted to this day: did he in fact float through the Grand Canyon, making him the first person to do so? While John Wesley Powell usually gets credit for such, two years later in 1869, many have believed White's story—that he, Charles Baker, and George Strole were ambushed by Utes near Glen Canyon; that the Indians fatally shot Baker; that Strole and White hastily made a raft of cottonwood logs and escaped downriver; that Strole fell off and drowned in a rapid some days later; and that White himself floated through a deep canyon, arriving in Callville over a week later.

Before the publication of *Drifting West*, many have taken a crack at White's story, most prominently White's granddaughter, Eilean Adams. Her *Hell or High Water: James White's Disputed Passage through Grand Canyon 1867* (2001) made the strongest case yet for the truth of White's claim. Simmons' book, which inevitably will be compared to Adams' fine work, does something a little different. Rather than answer the question one way or another, she uses White's extraordinary story as a springboard to examine the lives of two very ordinary men, Charles Baker and James White (and to a much lesser extent their two mates, Joe Goodfellow and George Strole). As such, she takes their lives and adventures in the West as exemplars of thousands of ordinary proletariat types who lived and died there without much ever being known about them outside the memories of their own families.

Baker was charismatic leader or con man, depending on one's point of view, who first led a group of men and women into Baker's Park, Colorado, near present-day Silverton in 1860. Baker convinced his followers, including George Strole and Joe Goodfellow, that gold abounded in the area. That proved to be somewhat wrong (later abundant silver made the area boom), and Baker left the area shortly thereafter, an unpopular man.

James White wandered around the West between 1861 and 1867. He even enlisted in the U.S. Army, was falsely accused of stealing army coffee, and served five months in prison at Fort Craig, New Mexico. After being discharged, he found a stage-driving job in Atchison, Kansas, and met Baker at Fort Dodge. With Goodfellow and Strole, they made their way in the spring of 1867 to southwest Colorado to prospect for gold. After a gunfight between White and Goodfellow, Goodfellow left and the other three traveled toward Glen Canyon, probably near Moki Canyon.

Simmons does an excellent job portraying Baker's and White's lives up to the point of the Ute attack (almost nothing is known about Goodfellow and Strole). She is particularly well versed in all things Colorado. She also does well surveying the commentary and scholarship on White's alleged journey through the Grand Canyon. Although Simmons discusses White's journey and the uproar afterwards, Adams' book is more thorough and better researched on that count.

Nonetheless, Simmons's book is a valuable contribution to Colorado River history and to social history. It fills out well the story of Baker's and White's lives up to the point where Baker was killed. And she continues the thread of White's subsequent life in Trinidad, Colorado, many years after his "fifteen minutes of fame."

JAMES M. ATON
Southern Utah University

Up in the Rocky Mountains: Writing the Swedish Immigrant Experience.

By Jennifer Eastman Attebery. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

xx + 304 pp. Paper, \$20.00.)

LIKE SO MANY OTHER IMMIGRANTS to the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century, Swedes flooded westward in search of newfound opportunity and prosperity. As these Swedish immigrants adjusted and settled in the West, they wrote letters home explaining their situations and also wishing well to those they left behind. In *Up in the Rocky Mountains*, Jennifer Eastman Attebery looks at the Swedish immigration to the American West—specifically to Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico—through the letters written home by the immigrants. In her insightful approach, Eastman examines Swedish immigrant letters as a folk expression allowing modern-day readers to better understand the transitions, assimilations and connections immigrants experienced as they bridged their lives between the two countries.

Eastman bases her study around the idea of letters acting as a folk form in which people demonstrate and express various vernacular folk formulas: epistolary traditions, everyday language patterns and phrasing, storytelling, religious language

and cultural comparisons. She examines these modes to better interpret how these immigrants placed and identified themselves in their new contexts and settings. Eastman claims that by looking at these signifiers, the modern-day reader can tell what was important, both consciously and subconsciously, to the writer to convey to the reader. Various sections of the book are dedicated to subjects such as adjusting to life as a Westerner, synthesizing Swedish and American culture, identifying with other Swedish immigrants, learning the American work ethic, and transmitting religious experiences. By exploring such aspects in immigrant letters, Eastman shows how these letters help define the authors' existing, as well as developing, identities.

Up in the Rocky Mountains focuses fairly equally among the western states. Those parts on Utah lend themselves to the Mormon church influence on Swedish immigrants. Eastman observes that, unlike the Swedes who immigrated to the West for economic reasons, those who came to Utah due to the Mormon church clung less to their Swedish identity and depended more on their unity as members of a religious group. For these Mormon Swedes, their main purpose and effort was to come to America to help build Zion. This cohesive religious identity, however, set these Mormon Swedes apart from the other Swedes of the West and isolated them in regard to their national identity and integration among Western Swedes. Eastman also points out the paradox of the church's panethnicity in its emphasis on grouping the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes as one ethnic entity under the umbrella of united Mormonism. She neglects to address, however, the willingness and desired sense of community these Mormon Scandinavians felt as they successfully combined their efforts to press forward in the establishment of their Zion. These Swedes found their identity through their religion, not their nationality.

Eastman provides various aids for the reader interested in further study of related social, historical or theoretical topics through extensive notes with each chapter, elaborating on her analysis of the letters as well as referring to other scholarly sources. The bibliography is particularly helpful for those interested in researching even more specific historic, folkloric, linguistic, literary and Scandinavian studies. The notes contain much of the original Swedish text translated in the book, allowing the literate Swedish reader more accurately to gather the full meaning of the letters. There is also a sixty-six page appendix of various letter writers' biographical sketches, with full English translations of selected letters, which help in making each person seem more real and endearing, not mere historical names on a register.

Eastman's research and analysis are thoroughly insightful and helpful to anyone interested in nineteenth century Scandinavian immigration and folklore. The book is very well organized and thoughtful; it is easy to read and stimulating. For readers interested in Scandinavian emigration, particularly to the American West, this book contributes greatly to the field and provides innovative ways of interpreting the Swedish immigrant experience.

RACHEL GIANNI ABBOTT
University of Alaska Fairbanks

If I Get Out Alive: World War II Letters & Diaries of William H. McDougall, Jr.

Edited by Gary Topping. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2007. xiv + 318 pp. Cloth, \$24.95.)

LONGTIME RESIDENTS of Salt Lake City may remember William H. McDougall (1909–88) as a journalist who was ordained a Catholic priest, served as editor of the Salt Lake diocesan newspaper, *The Intermountain Catholic*, and was the rector of the Cathedral of the Madeleine when he retired from active ministry in 1981. He was also a prisoner of war for three and one-half years during World War II and it is with that phase of his life that this volume deals.

McDougall moved to Tokyo in January 1940 to work for an English language newspaper. In September 1940, he was hired by United Press International and posted to Shanghai, then under Japanese occupation. After Pearl Harbor he managed to escape from Shanghai with the help of Chinese guerillas. Following his reporter's instincts to be where the action was, McDougall sought and accepted assignment to the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia) and was in Djakarta when the Japanese invaded in March 1942. He almost escaped again, but Japanese planes sank the ship that he was on and McDougall spent several hours swimming in the Indian Ocean until he was pulled into a lifeboat. When McDougall and the others in the boat reached land on the island of Sumatra, they were taken into custody by the Japanese and spent the rest of the war in three different concentration camps.

McDougall kept a diary throughout his confinement and his diaries and letters home ended up in the diocesan archives in Salt Lake City where Gary Topping, the archivist and the editor of this volume, came upon them. The letters home are from his two years in Tokyo and Shanghai (1940–41). McDougall kept assuring his family back in Utah that the Japanese were too poorly organized and too dependent on trade with the United States to go to war with America and the European colonial powers especially when they were having so much trouble subduing China, which they had invaded in 1937.

The diaries cover his years in the prison camps and were written in pen or pencil in a tiny crabbed script on vest-pocket notebooks. He buried some of them under the floor of one camp when he was about to be moved, lest they be confiscated, and he retrieved them only after the war. McDougall has no dramatic escape stories to offer the reader but rather the story of the long, grueling struggle to ward off starvation and illness and stay alive until the war ended. As a worker in the camp hospital he was constantly in contact with the sick and dying. In the last year of his confinement, the Japanese assigned him to type the death certificates, so he knew the fatality rate in the camp, an average of almost one death every three days.

These diaries also tell the story of a spiritual journey during McDougall's years of confinement. Adrift in the Indian Ocean in March 1942, he promised God that

if he came out of his ordeal alive, he would quit smoking and drinking and “dedicate my life to Christ in whatever way he willed” (57). Cigarettes and alcohol were not readily available and when they could be had, McDougall often indulged, as he laments. When there were priests in the camp, he assisted at mass every day. His ultimate fulfillment of his promise came only after the war, when he had returned to the United States.

McDougall and his fellow prisoners knew nothing about the progress of the war, so complete was their isolation. They knew that the war had ended only when a Japanese officer announced it. His is not the story of how the war looked from the perspective of the prison camp, but rather the story of human suffering and endurance under very difficult circumstances, sometimes a noble effort but often an account of human nature in its less admirable aspects.

JAMES T. CONNELLY
University of Portland
Portland, Oregon

Damming Grand Canyon: The 1923 USGS Colorado River Expedition.

By Diane E. Boyer and Robert H. Webb. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2007. xiv + 289 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

THE GRAND CANYON has been the focus of a veritable freshet of books lately; besides *Damming Grand Canyon*, recent months have seen *Drifting West: The Calamities of James White and Charles Baker*, by Virginia McConnell Simmons; *Grand Obsession: Harvey Butchart and the Exploration of Grand Canyon* by Elias Butler and Tom Meyers, and *Dave Rust: A Life in the Canyons* by Fred Swanson. Brad Dimock's *The Very Hard Way: Bert Loper and the Colorado River* recently won a National Outdoor Book Award. All of this goes to show that while the Grand Canyon might be one of America's best known landmarks, scholars have not exhausted the potential for works relating to its history. There are still gaps in the literature about the Canyon, although now, with the publication of *Damming Grand Canyon: The 1923 USGS Colorado River Expedition*, there is, laudably, one less.

The 1923 Grand Canyon survey, sometimes called the Birdseye Survey after its leader, Claude Birdseye, was one of the most important river expeditions to enter the Grand Canyon in the twentieth century. All previous journeys through the canyon by boat had either become a race for survival, like Powell's 1869 journey; or had focused on a narrow aspect of the canyon, such as Stanton's ill-fated railroad survey in 1889, or had been larks, such as the 1896 voyage of Flavell and Montos and the 1909 Stone-Galloway trip. The 1923 survey, planned from the start as a wide-ranging scientific investigation, was the first to comprehensively survey and map the river corridor. While today we might lament the purpose of

the survey—to choose damsites for large scale water storage and hydroelectric power generation—there can be no gainsaying how successful, and how important to later history, the 1923 survey was. Yet, even though the survey was front-page, headline news at the time, and newsreels thrilled audiences for months afterwards, today the survey and the personalities involved with it are known only to historians of the Colorado River, scientists, and Canyon aficionados. After publication of this book, that will no longer be the case.

The authors begin with a thorough review of Colorado River water management history—a checkered one indeed, fraught with missteps and fraud—before 1923. They ably set the stage for the survey and give the reader a good background with which to consider the survey's place in that record. Where they depart from previous accounts of this survey is in their determination to track down any and all contemporary documents, including letters from the participants, newspaper accounts, diaries, and scientific papers. For the most part, the authors let the participants tell their own story, using quotes from these and other sources to move the narrative along. Just as you would expect from a pair of scientists who are venturing into history, the book is exhaustively researched and thoroughly documented. Yet, this is no dry thesis; Boyer and Webb bring out the fractious personalities that made up the survey crew, from the peevish Emery Kolb, who was convinced that the U. S. Government was out to defraud him; to the breezy, well-connected Lewis Freeman; to the intense, driven Eugene LaRue; to the unfalteringly patient Col. Birdseye, who had to keep them all from fighting with each other almost the whole time. The authors do their job so well that the reader can hardly help but take sides in the many interpersonal conflicts that threatened to sink the project before it started.

One caveat only: if you like to know where you are, as I do, and are not very familiar with the Grand Canyon—unlike the authors, who between them have spent decades working in the Canyon—it would be well to keep a river guide or map ready at hand to orient yourself. With that at your side, settle down for a very engaging, readable, yet important contribution to the literature on the Grand Canyon and the Colorado River.

ROY WEBB
University of Utah

Dave Rust: A Life in the Canyons. By Frederick H. Swanson. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2007. xxvi + 354 pp. Cloth, \$29.95.)

HISTORY HAS LARGELY FORGOTTEN the contributions of the great backcountry explorer and river man David Dexter Rust (1874-1963), but his contemporaries knew him well and respected him highly. Quiet, self-effacing, and

averse to advertising, Rust accomplished much of his exploration alone, and even his commercially guided trips rarely included more than a couple of guests recruited by referrals. Thus, the name of Dave Rust occurs only infrequently in books and articles on the Colorado Plateau (including those written by this reviewer).

Now Frederick H. Swanson, in this thoroughly researched and intelligently interpreted biography, has effectively established Rust's place in the history of the Colorado Plateau. The book fairly splits its seams with its diversity of topics, as big as the Plateau Province itself: hardscrabble Mormon pioneering; riverbank gold mining; science and engineering; river travel; the Good Roads movement and the development of tourism; rural politics, education, and economic development, and eccentric characters like C. J. "Buffalo" Jones and his cougar lassoing trips and "cattalo" breeding. Books as densely packed with information as this one come along only rarely, and a brief review of this kind despairs of establishing more than a small scale map of its contours.

The great river man Dick Sprang used to refer to Arthur Chaffin, builder of the Hite ferry, as "one hell of a great riverbank engineer." That phrase could apply just as aptly to Chaffin's friend Dave Rust and Rust's father-in-law Edwin D. "Dee" Woolley Jr. Some of Swanson's most memorable chapters narrate the three-year period during which Rust and Woolley laboriously grubbed out a trail from the Kaibab Plateau down the talus slopes of the Grand Canyon and the bed of Bright Angel Creek and constructed a tram across the Colorado River to connect their trail with trails coming down from the South Rim. It was one of the great riverbank engineering feats of all time. Designed mostly by himself after he rejected professional engineers' advice on the abutments and the suspension system, Rust's tram consisted of a metal cage dangling from a single cable carrying both animals and people at a vertigo-inducing fifty feet above the river. Understandably replaced by the present footbridge in 1921, the tram, nevertheless, conveyed dozens of passengers across the river safely, if scarily, for over a decade.

Swanson points out those developments during Rust's career as a river and backcountry guide that gradually rendered him an anachronism. The problem Rust and Woolley faced in the beginning was attracting tourists to see the Grand Canyon and the Kaibab Plateau, but the advent of automobile tourism after World War I brought people in such staggering numbers that the problem eventually became one of limiting and regulating them to keep them from destroying the very country they had come to see. Through it all, Rust's canoe trips through Glen Canyon and his horseback expeditions in the canyons and plateaus remained small. Rust was an educator who loved to get his clients on some panoramic overlook and explain the nature of the country they were seeing rather than rushing them down the river or over the highways that only skirted the backcountry he wanted to show them. Thus, his trips were only affordable and appealing to a certain type of elite client and were increasingly at odds with the democratic tourism of modern times.

Frederick Swanson has placed all students of the Colorado Plateau in his debt with this fine, indeed indispensable, book.

GARY TOPPING
Salt Lake Community College

BOOK NOTICES

Far from Cactus Flat: The 20th Century Story of a Harsh Land, a Proud Family, and a Lost Son. By Lyman Hafen. (St. George: Arizona Strip Interpretive Association, 2006. 230 pp. Paper, \$16.95.)

Master storyteller and St. George native Lyman Hafen offers a remarkable book that builds on an insightful account of the Arizona Strip—that frontier area north of the Grand Canyon and south of the Utah border, and the World War II experience of one of its sons, Lincoln Bundy, whose skills and experience as a cowboy chasing wild horses on the desert and in the canyons of the Arizona Strip transferred easily to the cockpit of a P-51 Mustang fighter plane in the skies over northern France during the Allied invasion of Normandy. Bundy's fate remained a mystery for decades until members of the Bundy family traveled to France in 2002 and, with the help of an English historian and former French resistance fighters, gained a measure of closure. This fine portrait of the Arizona Strip and adventure of Lincoln Bundy is seasoned just right with the author's personal experience in researching the story and journey of appreciation for the land and people of the Arizona Strip.

The Annals of Iowa Vol. 65 Nos. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 2006)—Special

Commemorative Issue: Mormon Handcart Trek

The Spring/Summer 2006 edition of *The Annals of Iowa* published by the State Historical Society of Iowa consists of five scholarly papers that were presented at the June 2006 commemoration of the 1856-57 handcart companies. Written by accomplished researchers of the subject, the articles give detailed accounts of the handcart companies, the historical context of the time in which they traveled, and the challenges they faced. The articles include William G. Hartley, "The Place of Mormon Handcart Companies in America's Westward

Migration Story”; Don H. Smith, “Leadership, Planning, and Management of the 1856 Mormon Handcart Emigration”; Fred E. Woods, “Iowa City Bound: Mormon Migration by Sail and Rail, 1856–1857”; Lyndia McDowell Carter, “Handcarts across Iowa: Trial Runs for the Willie, Haven, and Martin Handcart Companies”; and Steven F. Faux, “Faith Footsteps of 1856–1857 Retraced: The Location of the Iowa Mormon Handcart Route.”

Windows to the Past: Early Settlers in Jackson Hole. By Bonnie Kreps. (Jackson, WY: Jackson Hole Historical Society and Museum, 2006. xvii + 241 pp. Paper, \$16.95.)

A resident of Jackson Hole, author Bonnie Kreps describes early homesteading efforts in the region by exploring the lives of ten families who settled in Jackson Hole from 1891 to 1927. Kreps draws extensively from family and oral histories as she allows the families to tell their own stories, aptly weaving them together with her own timely observations and perspective of the period. The intimate accounts contained in the book provide fascinating insight into the history and establishment of Jackson Hole, the life of homesteaders, and the struggles they faced as early settlers of the American Frontier.

Tribal Water Rights: Essays in Contemporary Law, Policy, and Economics.

Edited by John E. Thurston, Sarah Britton, and Bonnie G. Colby. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006. 291 pp. Cloth, \$50.00.)

In a follow-up to an earlier volume, *Negotiating Water Rights*, editors and authors Thurston, Britton, and Colby continue to advance the discussion of the issues arising from the negotiation and implementation of Indian water rights settlements. While the first volume focused on describing the processes involved in settling specific past cases, *Tribal Water Rights* brings together scholars and professionals—lawyers, economists, policymakers, and conflict resolution specialists—to examine the issues that continue to shape the settlement of tribal claims.

Surveying a range of topics from the legal distinction between surface water and ground water claims to the impact of the Endangered Species Act on water conflicts, this volume provides excellent resources for a wide range of academic and professional fields who deal with contemporary and historical issues of water management and European American/Indian relations. By bringing needed clarity to the complexities of tribal water rights, the editors have assembled in a single volume the resources necessary for Indian nations who seek to regain some control over their resources and futures in the changing American West.

Embracing Montana: The Methodist Ministry of Reverend Charles D. Crouch. By

Jerry Evan Crouch. (Victoria, BC, Canada: Trafford Publishing, 2006. 59 pp. Paper. \$10.95.)

Over the course of his fifty-one years in the ministry, Reverend Charles D. Crouch was a key figure in bolstering the Methodist faith in Montana. *Embracing Montana* tracks Crouch's life from his family's immigration to Utah, his conversion from Mormonism to the Methodist faith, and his subsequent decision to enter the ministry. At that point a resident of Montana, Crouch received numerous assignments, both civic and religious, for which he was able to utilize his effective leadership skills and love of service in pursuit of community and intra-faith objectives. Along with celebrating and documenting the life of Reverend Crouch, *Embracing Montana* provides an interesting view of the role of religion in the growth and development of the west.

Rails Around Helper. By Sue Ann Martell. (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia

Publishing, 2007. 128 pp. Paper, \$19.99.)

Arcadia Publishing's first venture in Utah's local history is a cooperative effort with Sue Ann Martell and the Western Mining and Railroad Museum that promises to serve as a model for other communities and areas of the state. Utilizing more than two hundred historic photographs and illustrations, each accompanied by a detailed and informative caption, the book provides a visual overview of Helper from its founding in the 1880s to the post World War II era.

A History of Washington County: From Isolation to Destination. By Douglas D.

Alder and Karl F. Brooks. (Springdale: Zion Natural History Association, 2007. xix + 451 pp. Paper, \$19.96.)

Originally published in 1996 as part of the Utah Centennial County History Series, this updated edition includes an additional chapter by authors Douglas Alder and Karl Brooks on developments in Washington County from 1996 to 2006. The cover of this attractive paperback edition features a painting of Zion Canyon made by Frederick S. Dellenbaugh during a trip to the area in 1903.

Copperfield Remembered. By R. Eldon Bray. (Salt Lake City: F.C. Printing, 2007. 295 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

Bingham Copper Mine is recognized as the world's largest open-pit mine. However, little attention is paid to what the mine displaced to gain that distinction. Hailing from the now non-existent town of Copperfield, Eldon Bray delivers a comprehensive account of the rise of the Bingham Copper Mine, and the subsequent demise of the mine's surrounding communities as the pit expanded. Rich in personal anecdotes and oral history, the author recounts his childhood in Copperfield and stories from other communities such as Highland Boy and Carr Fork. Containing numerous illustrations and photographs to accompany facts and commentary about the mine, the book provides a stimulating account with tantalizing images of a bygone era in Utah's mining history and community life.

Zion Canyon: A Storied Land. By Greer K. Chesher. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007. 70 pp. Paper \$14.95.)

Southern Utah's Zion Canyon is regarded as one of the most breathtaking geological scenes on the planet. The beauty of Zion Canyon and its surrounding environs is captured in eloquent prose and striking photography in *Zion Canyon: A Storied Land*. Written by a twenty-five year resident of the area, the book contains information about the history, geology, and ecology of the region, starting from its first inhabitants more than thirteen hundred years ago. This information is supplemented by the stories of those who live there, and have witnessed the area change from an unknown wilderness to a world famous tourist destination which attracts over 2.5 million people per year. The author produces a descriptive portrait of Zion Canyon while elegantly expressing her own affinity for the history and character of the region.

Playing the Odds: Las Vegas and the Modern West. By Hal K. Rothman. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. xix + 262 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

Playing the Odds: Las Vegas and the Modern West consists of sixty-six essays written by the eminent Western scholar Hal K. Rothman. An expert on Las Vegas, Rothman highlights the idiosyncrasies of the city and its unique role in America with essays covering topics such as the future economic prospects of Las Vegas, controversies surrounding the environment, and the ever present issue of immigration. Published posthumously, the book combines intriguing data with

Rothman's own characteristically aggressive analysis, allowing the reader to delve into the mind of one of this generation's leading Western historians and his apt social, political, and economic analysis of America's New West.

Old Indians, New Wars. By Elizabeth Cook-Lynn. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007. 248 pp. Cloth, \$32.95.)

A member of the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe and founding scholar of modern Native American studies, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn examines the discipline with a fiercely critical eye, calling for sweeping, radical changes in the field. In this collection of essays, Cook-Lynn explores the brutal history of U. S. colonization of Indian nations and subsequent, systematic efforts to efface that history. She aggressively challenges generally accepted historians' view of the American West as a shared space, arguing for revised understanding of the lands under discussion as irrefutably stolen.

Cook-Lynn's vision of transformed Native American studies embraces two fundamental changes to the discipline. She argues it must be pursued as an independent discipline, rather than as an offshoot of history, anthropology, or ethnic studies. Native American studies unencumbered by the presuppositions of traditional Western academic discourse should adopt a tribal model of indigenous scholarship rooted in an acknowledgment of Indian sovereignty, thereby enabling Native American studies to defend the rights and sovereignty of indigenous peoples.

My Kitchen Table: Sketches From My Life. By Pilar Pobil. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2007. xiii + 165 pp. Paper, \$29.95.)

From her childhood on the island of Mallorca, off the coast of Spain, Pilar Pobil exhibited a uniqueness and creativity befitting the art for which she would eventually become acclaimed. Her memoir recounts her conservative upbringing in Spain, her move to America and subsequent marriage, and her experience adjusting to a new land and culture. Pobil describes her experience living in Salt Lake City, and the forces that influenced her painting and sculpture, colorful reproductions of which have been included in the book. Genuinely engaging to readers, Pobil's fascinating stories provide insight into the life and artistic development of one of Salt Lake City's most renowned artists.

Massacre at Camp Grant: Forgetting and Remembering Apache History.

By Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007. 176 pp. Cloth, \$40.00; paper, \$17.95.)

On April 30, 1871, a group of Tucsonans and their Tohono O'odham allies massacred more than one hundred Apache men, women, and children living as prisoners of war under the protection of the U. S. Army along the Aravaipa River just east of Camp Grant. Thirty or more Apache children were taken either to be reared in Tucson homes or sold into slavery in Mexico. Such are generally taken as the bare facts underlying the story of the Camp Grant massacre. The rest, as scholars are fond of saying, is contested.

In this concise and surprisingly accessible interdisciplinary monograph, anthropologist Colwell-Chanthaphonh utilizes the tools of history and ethnography to examine the documentary record, historiographical literature, and Apache oral narratives to construct a layered, multivalent account of this tragic event. By interweaving differing perspectives on the massacre and attempting to unearth the sources of those differences, Colwell-Chanthaphonh explores the various ways in which the past is remembered individually and collectively and how its reconstruction is shaped by the history, culture, and politics of those who engage with it.

Journey of an American Pianist. By Grant Johannesen. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2007. xv + 187 pp. \$29.95.)

In *Journey of an American Pianist*, Grant Johannesen remembers his Utah childhood and his nearly sixty years as a celebrated concert pianist. Completed just a few weeks before his death, the book reveals Johannesen's thoughts on family, his own illustrious career, and the difficulties of his profession. Partly biographical, partly philosophical, and partly instructional, Johannesen's memoir is an eloquent exploration of his celebrated life and broad range of experiences.

Jordan High School: The First 100 Years. By Scott Crump. (Salt Lake City: Great Mountain West Supply, 2007. 188 pp. Paper \$25.00.)

Author and teacher Scott Crump became interested in Jordan High School's history through talks with his grandfather who had attended the school in the 1910s. In his subsequent book on the subject, Crump provides an engaging, decade by decade account of one of Utah's most storied high schools.

The book includes numerous stories such as the origins of the famous Beet Digger mascot, and the tragic 1938 school bus disaster. Crump also documents the school during devastating twentieth century occurrences such as the Great Depression and World War II, while leaving room for more innocent subject matter such as school dances and athletics. In addition to skillfully recounting the history of Jordan High School, the book highlights the cultural, societal, and technological changes that have occurred during its existence.

Blackfoot War Art: Photographs of the Reservation Period, 1880-2000.

By L. James Dempsey. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.

xxii + 409 pp. Hardcover, \$45.00.)

A member of the Blackfoot Nation, author L. James Dempsey describes the role that art has played in the warfare of his people throughout their history. The book begins with an explanation of Blackfoot culture and their traditional methods of warfare, followed by 160 photographs of authentic Blackfoot art created during the Reservation Period from 1880-2000. These photographs are accompanied by explanations of the method by which each work was created, and relevant background information necessary to understand the meaning of the piece. Dempsey shows how the Blackfoot were able to maintain their warrior heritage through artistic expression despite the drastic changes taking place around them. Well researched, the book appeals to the art enthusiast as well as those with solely historical interests.

Bear River: Last Chance to Change Course. By Craig Denton. (Logan: Utah State

University Press, 2007. 250 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

Author Craig Denton contends that allocation of water will be the major issue affecting the politics and economy of the Intermountain West in the twenty-first century, and examines the Bear River's role in this important matter. After exhaustive research both in the field and from related sources, Denton examines the geology, history, and hydrology of the river and the proposed plans to divert it for use by a growing Wasatch Front. Stressing preservation, Denton highlights the misuse of the Bear River over the last century, and warns of the serious repercussions facing the surrounding communities if abuses of this primary water source are left uncorrected. The book provides fascinating analysis of the Bear River while proposing a logical course of action for its preservation.

Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959. By Dennis L. Swibold. (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2006. 345 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

A professor of journalism at the University of Montana, author Dennis L. Swibold combines smart writing with his knowledge of journalism to document the dangers of corporate press ownership. Swibold cites the case of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and its domination of the Montana press in the first half of the twentieth century to make his point. By using the almighty dollar to control nearly every major newspaper in the state, Anaconda Company was able to use the press to further its corporate agenda, thus contributing to the virtual disintegration of a free press in Montana for nearly seventy years. Well researched and engagingly interesting, *Copper Chorus* is a sobering reminder of the power of media and the importance of an uncompromised press.

A Northern Cheyenne Album. Photographs by Thomas B. Marquis, Edited by Margot Liberty, Commentary by John Woodenlegs. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007, 304 pp. \$29.95)

In 1878, the Northern Cheyenne left their government mandated home of Oklahoma to travel back to their ancestral land in Montana. Thomas B. Marquis was a doctor working with the tribe during this period and used his photography skills to document the people and their frontier lifestyle. Each photograph in the album tells the story of a different tribe member, complete with a brief synopsis of their personality, family, and significance in the tribe. *A Northern Cheyenne Album* provides a uniquely intimate view of the tribe and its people.

Victorio: Apache Warrior and Chief. By Kathleen P. Chamberlain. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007, 272 pp. Cloth, \$24.95.)

The post-Civil War Indian policy of the United States government was devastating for tribes throughout the American West, resulting in brutal wars and forced relocation. At the center of the Apache Wars was Victorio, a little-known warrior and chief who fought to defend his people. Despite a dearth of information on Victorio's early years, author Kathleen P. Chamberlain delves into Apache tribal culture and society in an attempt to recreate his upbringing, and piece together his background. *Victorio* explains the injustice of United States policy towards Indians while highlighting the military exploits of one of the Apache's greatest heroes of the nineteenth century.

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